Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/brabazonpotpourr0000earl

BRABAZON POTPOURRI

SOCIAL ARROWS
(*Longmans*) 1887

PROSPERITY OR PAUPERISM
(*Longmans*) 1888

SOCIAL AIMS
(*Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co.*) 1893

OUR EMPIRE PAST AND PRESENT
GREAT BRITAIN IN EUROPE.
(*Harrison and Sons*) 1901

OUR EMPIRE PAST AND PRESENT
GREAT BRITAIN IN ASIA
(*Harrison and Sons*) 1905

THOUGHTS ON IMPERIAL AND SOCIAL SUBJECTS
(*Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co.*) 1906

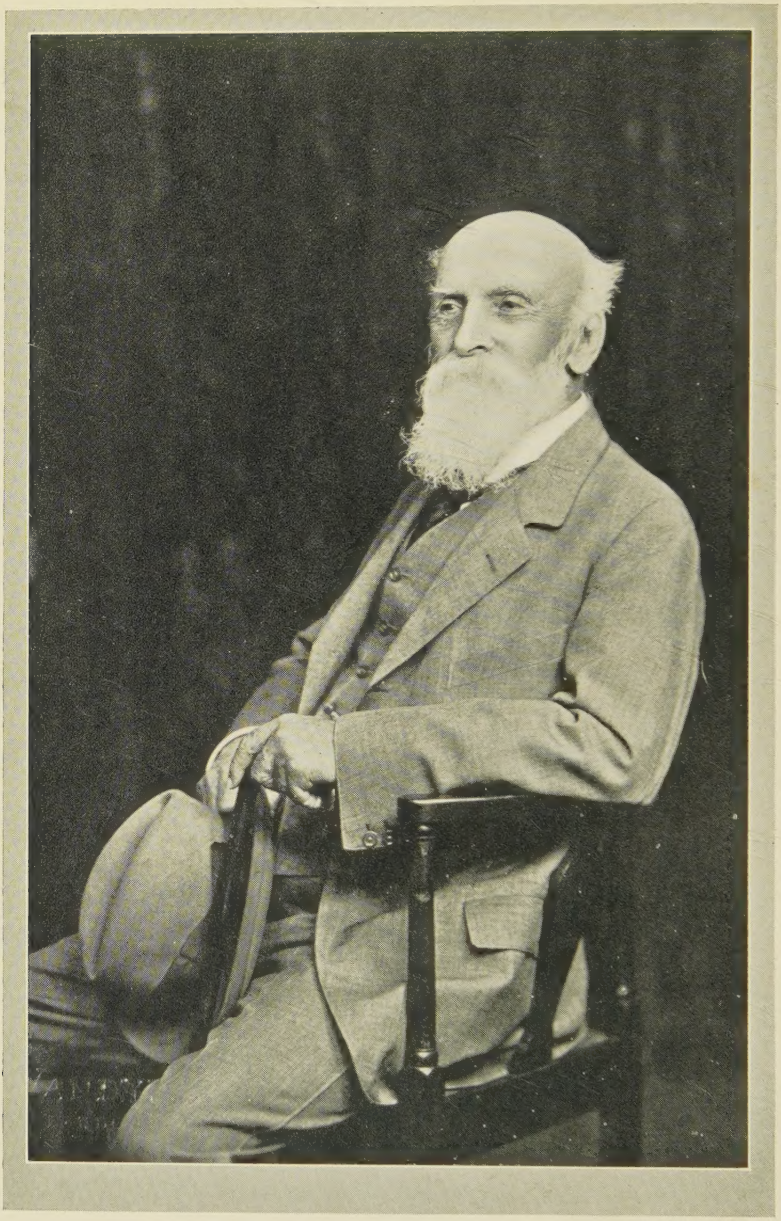
ESSAYS ON DUTY AND DISCIPLINE
(*Cassell and Co.*) 1910–11. Five editions

MEMORIES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
(*John Murray*) 1923

MEMORIES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
(*John Murray*) 1924

DIARIES OF MARY, COUNTESS OF MEATH
(*Hutchinson*) 1928

BRABAZON POTPOURRI
(*Hutchinson*) 1928



Portrait by Vandyk

THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF MEATH

BRABAZON POTPOURRI

by the EARL OF MEATH, *K.P., G.C.V.O.*

Meath, Reginald Brabazon, 12 earl of
Meath, K.P.
1841 - 1929

ILLUSTRATED

[1928]

HUTCHINSON & CO. (Publishers), LTD.
PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

ROBERT R. MUNTZ LIBRARY
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT TYLER
TYLER, TEXAS 75701

Printed in Great Britain at
The Mayflower Press, Plymouth. William Brendon & Son, Ltd

PREFACE

THIS book, which I have called *Brabazon Pot-pourri*, is an effort to supplement and combine the previous volumes I have published, descriptive of the activities of the Brabazon family, and of my late wife, and of myself, under the titles of the *Memories of the Nineteenth Century*, *Memories of the Twentieth Century*, and the *Diaries of Mary, Countess of Meath*.

If I have erred in publishing this addition to my previous books, the error is due to the over-kind reception which a section of the public has been good enough to give them.

MEATH.

August, 1928.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	PREFACE	5
I.	FOREWORD—EXPLANATION—BRABAZON MOTTO	11
II.	ADOPTION OF CHILDREN	15
III.	APPEAL TO MEN OF LEISURE	18
IV.	APPEAL TO MEN OF WEALTH	24
V.	BRABAZON EMPLOYMENT SOCIETY	28
VI.	BOY SCOUTS	35
VII.	CHURCH CONGRESSES	42
VIII.	CHURCH MISSIONS	64
IX.	DUTY AND DISCIPLINE	67
X.	EDUCATION	86
XI.	EMPIRE DAY	91
XII.	HOMES AND HOSTELS	106
XIII.	IRISH COTTIERS	110
XIV.	LADS' DRILL ASSOCIATION AND MILITARY TRAINING	113
XV.	MINISTERING CHILDREN'S LEAGUE	149
XVI.	METROPOLITAN PUBLIC GARDENS ASSOCIATION	171
XVII.	MISCELLANEOUS	181
XVIII.	NATIONAL HYGIENE	199
XIX.	PARLIAMENT	208
XX.	PARLIAMENTARY SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION	229
XXI.	PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS	236
XXII.	PHYSICAL EDUCATION	239
XXIII.	REST AND COUNTRY AIR	251
XXIV.	SOCIAL SERVICE	253
XXV.	STATE-DIRECTED COLONISATION	271
XXVI.	THE UNION JACK	281
	ADIEU!	282

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MEATH . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

KILLRUDDERY 80

KILLRUDDERY. BEECH HEDGE AND BARCHHUILLIA MOUNTAIN 144

KILLRUDDERY. BLUE GATE AND BARCHHUILLIA MOUNTAIN 208

KILLRUDDERY. BEECH HEDGE, POND AND SWANS . . 272

BRABAZON POTPOURRI

I

1874–1877

FOREWORD—EXPLANATION—BRABAZON MOTTO

FOREWORD

IN 1923 Messrs. John Murray published my *Memories of the Nineteenth Century*, and in 1924 the *Memories of the Twentieth Century*.

As stated by me in the *Nineteenth Century Memories*, I never kept a diary, but I availed myself largely of the voluminous records left by my late wife. Much that she wrote, though most interesting to the Brabazon family, was not quite suited for inclusion in the two volumes I published in 1923 and 1924, nor for insertion in the volume published in 1928 by Messrs. Hutchinson entitled *The Diaries of Mary, Countess of Meath*.

I am advised, however, that some portions of her Diaries and of my Reminiscences, omitted from the volumes which have already appeared, would be of interest to the general public if published separately.

Yielding to this request, I have collected such of these records as appear the most suitable for publication, and hereby offer them to the public under the title of *Brabazon Potpourri*.

MEATH.

Xmas, 1927.

EXPLANATION

This collection of papers must not be considered as in any way a continuation of or addition to my already published "Memories," though they may, and I hope will, throw light on the general purpose which led to the activities of my wife and myself during the period between the date when I left active service as a junior British diplomat in 1873 and the year of my wife's death in 1918.

To those who have not read my "Memories" I may perhaps be permitted to state that when I left diplomacy I had attained the age of thirty-two, that I was then known as Lord Brabazon, and that my father was the 11th Earl of Meath of Killruddery, Bray, Ireland.

My wife, to whom I was married in 1868, was the only surviving child of Thomas, the 11th Earl of Lauderdale, and her maiden name was Mary Maitland. In these pages she will sometimes be referred to as "Jeanie."

I stated on page 201 of my *Memories of the Nineteenth Century* that on leaving diplomacy, "my wife and I had to decide how we would spend the future years which might be left us, and we determined that we would devote ourselves, as far as our powers permitted, to the consideration of social problems and the relief of human suffering." We lived at that time at Sunbury-on-Thames, and afterwards occupied houses at Coombe, Kingston-on-Thames, and at Ottershaw, Chertsey, until the death of my father in 1887, when I became the 12th Earl of Meath.

After making the above resolve, Jeanie and I sought out philanthropic occupations. She threw herself with characteristic energy into the activities connected with Mrs Townsend's Girls' Friendly Society, and was very soon placed at the head of the Sick and Convalescent

Department of that organisation, and I became responsible for that of the Lodges and Lodgings.

In 1874 I became Hon. Secretary of the Dublin Hospital Sunday Movement, and in the same year, first Hon. Secretary of the London Hospital Saturday Fund. Should anyone desire further information in regard to these two movements it will be found on page 203 of my *Memories of the Nineteenth Century*.

I was inexperienced in the philanthropic field, and little knew what I was undertaking. During this time I had to attend and speak at some seventy public meetings, most of them in the open air. The inevitable result was that before the end of the year my health entirely broke down, and for about ten years I was more or less completely laid on one side. This explanation will account for gaps in the record of my wife's and my activities which otherwise might be incomprehensible to the readers of this book.

For the convenience of the reader, these records are not arranged chronologically, but according to their subject matter.

MEATH.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE BRABAZON MOTTO: "VOTA VITA MEA"

"KILLINEY,
1893.

MY DEAR LORD MEATH,

As, almost from boyhood, I have thought the motto of your House one of the noblest known to the Heralds, it was almost with pain I heard you say its Latinity had been challenged; though not pretending to critical scholarship, I submit that its purity is fully

vindicated by these instances alone. In Ovid's *Fasti*, lib. iv, l.c. 893, explaining why April 23rd was named 'Vinalia,' he tells that when Turnus was combining the strength of Etruria against Æneas, Mesentius, one of the knights, joined him on condition of being assigned the whole vintage of the year, which he therefore dedicated by vow to Jupiter. 'Hostica Tyrrheno Vota est Vindemia regi,' 'the hostile vintage was dedicated by the Tuscan King.'

In Cicero's *Natura Deorum*, lib. iii, c. 17, arguing that temples do not prove the deity of the gods, he asks, are the Nymphs Goddesses? If so, are the Satyrs Gods? and adds—they (the Satyrs) surely are not, therefore the Nymphs are not goddesses, 'Et earum templa sunt publice vota et dedicata'—'and yet temples have been publicly vowed and dedicated to these'! Cicero is the greatest of the masters of the Augustine dialect, and Ovid one of the brightest. 'Vota' in these passages is not perhaps our word 'devoted'—in its usual shade of meaning, but it is so in the very high and noble sense of solemnly dedicated by prayer and vows, and I am glad to think that so you may meet your enemies at your gates of Killruddery, with the ancient *and* classic watchwords.

Most truly yours,

FREDK. R. FALKINER."

II

THE ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

1889

IN June 1889, I introduced a Bill to regulate the adoption of children, and the guardianship of them by incorporated institutions. This was rejected by the House. Next year I brought forward a Bill for the Protection of Children. A similar Bill, introduced by the Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) was referred, together with mine, to a Committee of the House, and the joint Bills ultimately issued as a three-clause Bill, two being taken from my Bill and one from the Lord Chancellor's, and this composite Bill afterwards passed Parliament in 1890 as the "Custody of Children Act." The following newspaper article explains the reasons why, in the opinion of some, the House rejected my attempt to legalise the "Adoption of Children," but approved of a "Custody of Children Bill."

"Lord Meath's Protection of Children's Bill in its second edition is a great improvement upon the first one issued. The noble Lord, who has earned for himself a great name in philanthropic work, went too far when he proposed to make over to foster-parents all the rights and duties of real parents. It is easy to conceive of abuses and hardships arising out of such a proposal. But in its amended form, the Bill provides, that in cases where a parent deserts his or her child, leaving it to be brought up by foster-parents, the parent shall not be entitled to resume the custody of the child unless all costs incurred by the

foster-parent in bringing it up be paid. The proviso will meet the difficulty experienced in the cases of drunken and dissolute parents, who care not what becomes of their children in their tender years, but are anxious to reclaim them, when they believe they will be able to secure money through their work. At the same time the Bill safeguards the parents' rights. If the Court, having cognisance of the case, shall be of opinion that the child shall be brought up by the parent, an order can be made to that effect. By this section it would seem that parents who, from misfortune, are obliged to allow their children to be for a time in someone else's care, will lose none of their rights thereby. But the cunning, self-indulgent parent, careless of the life or the prospects of the child of tender years, will not be able to claim at once and without any recompense the return of the child at a time when money can be made from its work. The Bill is a beneficial one, and meets cases where the Law has hitherto been deficient in protecting foster-parents and their charges, and has been too much on the side of the negligent and drunken parent."

It is now thirty-one years since this Act was passed in 1890, and I fear experience has shown that its usefulness has been much curtailed by the strong objection entertained by the Lord Chancellor of the day, against submitting questions of this character to any other tribunal than the High Court. His words were: "Questions of this character affecting the relations between parent and child ought not to be remitted to Petty Sessions or Courts of inferior jurisdiction." The omission of such a clause which was in my original Bill, has resulted in both parents and foster-parents boycotting legislation under this Act, from fear of heavy expenditure on both sides. I still believe that the true solution of these vexed questions between vicious

and negligent parents on the one side, and benevolent foster-parents on the other, is to be found in the passing of a genuine "Adoption of Children Act," as has been done by almost every civilised country in the world outside Great Britain. Perhaps some young, energetic, and philanthropic statesman will yet complete the work I began in 1889, and had reluctantly to leave only half-completed in 1890.

III

AN APPEAL TO MEN OF LEISURE

1884

By Lord Brabazon, afterwards Earl of Meath

IN 1884 I wrote as follows in the *National Review*:—

"'I am possessed of a considerable amount of energy which, now that I have left the Army and have nothing to do, I am obliged to work off by travelling about Europe.' The above remark was made to me by a most intelligent Officer who had retired from the Army with the rank of Colonel, who was still in the prime of life, and who was gifted, not only, as he himself said, with energy but with health, strength, and apparently with excellent abilities. It struck me as sad, that a good man's energies should be wasted, when there was so much work needing to be done in the world, and this led me to consider why and how it was that so few men of leisure devote themselves to useful philanthropic work. Notwithstanding the splendid example which has been set by Lord Shaftesbury, how few men of position and of leisure have followed his footsteps! Those who have done so, whose names are known to the public, may almost be counted on the fingers of one hand; and if Lord Shaftesbury were to die to-morrow, there is not one of them who would be capable of occupying with equal ability, energy, and dignity, the high position which he has for so long maintained as a leader of the religious and philanthropic world. I do not mean to

say that there are not probably more men now who devote themselves, their money, and their time to the good of their fellow-creatures than during any previous period of our national history. It is only natural that such should be the case. As the age we live in is essentially an active one, it would indeed be remarkable, if philanthropy were to be the only field of activity which had not benefited by the stirring influences of our time. I quite believe, that there is more voluntary and unpaid work undertaken by men for the love of God and their neighbour at the present time than there ever was before; but this does not alter the fact, that the proportion of the men of the leisured class which devotes itself to unpaid, useful, religious and philanthropic work is a small one, and that among the younger generation of philanthropists, we may look in vain for the equals of a Howard, a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, a Zachary Macaulay, or a Shaftesbury. Why is this? Surely, the career of a philanthropist is as noble as that of a politician? It cannot be less interesting. It is probably of more genuine service to the world. True it is that in this direction lies not the path of worldly honours and distinctions, but the gratitude of a people, and the sense of useful work accomplished should be reward enough for the genuine philanthropist. If he obtain these, and the approval of his own conscience, he may ungrudgingly leave the stars and the titles to the politician, the successful General or the Lawyer. The lack of first-class men in this department of the world's work is not due to any falling off in the demand for their labour, or to any overstocking of the religious and philanthropic labour market. Just the reverse. Never were there so many philanthropic enterprises endeavouring to enlist the sympathies of the world; never was religious work more active and more desirous of availing itself of lay

help ; never was personal work amongst the poor and suffering in body or in spirit more needed than at present ; never was there greater separation between rich and poor, and, consequently, at no time was it more necessary to apply to the social sores of our time (irritated and inflamed by the poison of class ignorance and prejudice) the healing remedies of personal ministration and of Christian sympathy. Women (all honour to them !) can be found in plenty, who make it the duty and pleasure of their lives to minister to the wants and alleviate the miseries of the poor sufferers who in life's battlefield have fallen victims to the shock of the social forces of our time ; but the men—those thousands of them who are not engaged in the strife, who are simply spectators of the fight—why do they hold aloof from the work of rescue ? How can they reconcile it with their manhood to permit feeble women to descend into the arena alone, amidst all the horrible surroundings of the fight, and at the peril of their own health, and often at the sacrifice of their lives, to labour single-handed in the cause of mercy ? the men looking on indifferent, or what is worse, so engrossed in their sport or selfish amusement as, in sooth, not to perceive that there is indeed any struggle in progress, or any wounded who need attention. Shall I be told that the care of those who have fallen on the battlefield of life is as strictly a woman's duty as is the nursing of the maimed and wounded on the actual and material field of slaughter, and that men are not fitted for such work, and would only do it badly did they attempt it ? That woman's nature is more sympathetic than man's, and that she is never so happy as when employed on some mission of mercy, and that, consequently, she is the fit and proper person to undertake the philanthropic work of the world ? True ; yet the Ambulance Corps does not consist solely of nurses. Are there not

doctors and surgeons, ambulance men and bearers, professionals and volunteers? As on the material field of strife, so on the battle arena of the world, there is ample scope for the philanthropic energies of men, without interfering with that portion of the work of rescue for which women are more peculiarly fitted. For want of men, women are frequently obliged to undertake branches of philanthropic work for which they are unsuited, with the natural result that the work is badly done, and much good female energy wasted, which might have been better employed if directed into other and more appropriate channels.

Now, supposing a man of leisure, of independent means, of cultivation, possessed of a good heart, and the desire to make himself of use in the world, were to enquire what branches of useful work were open to him outside the recognised lines of political, magisterial, and literary labour, what answer could be returned him? There are many who seem to think that if a man of leisure and means does not go into Parliament, attend Petty Sessions, or write a book, there are only two other ways in which he can spend his days: as a sportsman, or as an idler. It never seems to enter the heads of these people that there can be any other choice. Let us see, however, if, outside the above orthodox masculine occupations, we cannot discover several ways in which a man may profitably and agreeably spend his time, and taste of that happiness which they alone feel who are working for the good of others.

Altruistic unprofessional work may be either secular or religious. If secular, it would include such unpaid labour as that of poor-law guardians, town councillors, vestrymen, managers of public libraries, baths and wash-houses, gymnasia, cricket and football clubs, penny banks, boys' homes and clubs, orphanages,

industrial schools, hospitals, convalescent homes, working men's clubs, coffee taverns, debating and penny reading societies, Hospital Sunday and Hospital Saturday movements, sanitary and vigilance associations, emigration, temperance, benefit, thrift, charity organisation, Kyrle, open spaces, national health, public playgrounds, drinking fountains, ambulance, early closing, people's entertainments, popular ballad concerts, workhouse concerts and country and seaside convalescing societies, etc. Religious work would include that of deacons and lay readers appointed by the Bishops of the Church of England, similar work as carried on by other churches, Sunday School teaching, membership of such associations as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Men's Friendly Society, the Church of England Purity Society, the White Cross Army, etc. Are not these lists sufficiently comprehensive? Yet they do not profess to be exhaustive. There are, doubtless, many other ways in which men of leisure might turn their talents to useful account. I have only jotted down those which first arose in my mind. Let others add to them. Many a good work is languishing for want of help, not pecuniary but personal help. How different would be the condition of things in our East End and South London parishes, or in our large manufacturing towns, if settlements of young men like those about to be established by the Universities were more common. I can myself witness to the good work performed by two young men engaged in business in the City, who have taken a house together in the far east of London, have added a large room to the building, have surrounded themselves with a band of young lads and men, and, after working hours, devote themselves to their welfare, instruction and amusement. May others follow their example! I shall be content if the few words I have written may lead some men of

leisure, whose lives are at present devoid of all serious or useful occupation, to think whether, after all, that life is worth living which is exclusively devoted to sport or pleasure, or still worse, to idleness or vice, and whether it would not be more truly worth living, if some portion of the time, talents, health, and energy with which God has endowed them, were to be devoted to the benefit of their fellow-creatures and to the advancement of His Kingdom upon earth."

IV

AN APPEAL TO MEN OF WEALTH

By Lord Brabazon, afterwards Earl of Meath, in 1886

"THE favourable reception accorded to my remarks in my appeal to Men of Leisure, encourages me to make a further appeal to Men of Wealth and Position. Such an appeal may, perhaps, draw forth the remark that men of wealth in England are notoriously generous, and that men of high social position are never wanting to take the lead in works of genuine charity. These remarks are true in one sense, but untrue in another. It is true that large sums of money are always forthcoming on the occasion of any special appeal to the generosity of the British Public, and that the voluntary subscriptions annually contributed to works of charity in this country are larger than in any other; it is also true that there is hardly any institution in the Kingdom which cannot show its list of aristocratic, and often royal supporters; but it would not be in accordance with facts to assert that men of wealth, and of social position, take as active an interest in works of philanthropy and of charity as they do, for instance, in the pursuit of politics, or of mere luxury or amusement, or that they spend on the former as large a proportion of their income as they do on the latter. Now, although it may be thought, and very possibly may be Utopian to expect, the average man of wealth to expend upon his less fortunate fellow-creatures as much as he

spends upon his own amusement, I certainly am quixotic enough to believe that a much larger proportion of men would be found capable of such madness, if in their youth they had been brought up to consider the wants of others; if, instead of being led to understand that philanthropy and charity were right and proper subjects for the consideration of parsons and women, but were beneath the attention of men of the world, it had been pointed out to them that there was no nobler work than the relief of human suffering, and the elevation of mankind, whether viewed from the Christian or the humanitarian point of view; if it had been shown them that exceptional opportunities for engaging in this work had been placed within their reach, that the mass of mankind were constantly engaged in a never-ending struggle for bare existence, and that questions affecting their social well-being were of vastly more importance to the people than the most exciting topics of political, or even of international, warfare, except in so far as the latter, by raising prices, still further increased for them the difficulties of living. I do not think that many persons who are in the habit of watching the currents of public opinion will disagree with me when I say, that social questions not only hold a vastly more important position in the public mind than formerly, but that they are annually encroaching on the domain of pure politics, and that no statesman or party will, in the near future, be able with impunity to leave them out of calculation. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that the political party which has the courage to grapple firmly with such social questions as the housing of the poor, the State direction of emigration, the regulation of the hours of labour, the prevention of adulteration, the reform of our Poor Laws, the sanitation of our public cities, the establishment of a Government Department of Health,

with a Minister at its head of Cabinet rank, the reform of our sanitary laws, the increase and better payment of inspectors of nuisances and of factories, and the appointment of a real and not of a sham Public Prosecutor, whose duty it shall be to defend the individual against all action, whether corporate or private, calculated to injure the public health—that the party, in short, that is bold enough to break loose from superstitious worship of *laissez-faire*, and recognises that the happiness of the people is the true end and aim of its existence, will obtain a lengthened monopoly of political power. Even supposing all this to be desirable, I hear the reader say, why appeal to wealthy men ? What have they to say to it ? Why not rather, in these democratic days, descend into the streets and address your appeal to the masses with whom now rests the fate of Ministries. That is just what I want you rich men of England to do ! I do not so much care that you should increase your subscriptions to charitable objects (though this might often be done with advantage), as that you should use the great influence you possess in the cause of the happiness of the greatest numbers. I want you to show the poor man (what I know to be the case) that he is not forgotten by you ; that you are alive to his sorrows, that you sympathise with him in his trouble, that you respect him for his honest struggles against penury and want, that you admire him for his patience, that you willingly acknowledge that moral worth is superior to all social distinction ; that you recognise wealth as a talent which has been given you from above, and that your greatest pleasure in life is to use it for the good of your less-favoured brethren. If wealth descended oftener into the streets, there would be less animosity between capital and labour. Sympathy would soon produce love, and self-sacrifice reverence. Let the rich man take for his

Motto, 'Not alms but a friend'—a friend who should use his wealth and his education not to pauperise, but to elevate and encourage, to dissipate prejudice, to soften hatreds, and to bridge the yawning chasms of society; for is it not true that separation begets ignorance, and ignorance hatred? Let the poor man and the rich, the working man and the man of leisure, join hands in works of general utility and philanthropy and there will be an end to class hatred. 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.' The poor man will not begrudge the wealth which he sees is being used to good purpose; he will recognise without anger the advantages which education, wealth, leisure, and social advantages have given to his fellow-workers of the upper classes, and, respecting the unselfishness which prompts the latter to devote their advantages to the benefit of mankind in general, will freely accord the honour which he might have been tempted to withhold from the possession of mere wealth or social position unsustained by personal merit. I appeal, then, to the wealthy, and the socially distinguished, to throw themselves into all movements of a non-political character which are calculated to insure the happiness of the people, and by this I mean, not that happiness only which is the outcome of physical content, but that also which results from a good conscience and a well-regulated life."

V

THE BRABAZON EMPLOYMENT SOCIETY

Founded by the late Lady Brabazon, afterwards Countess of Meath

GENESIS OF THE BRABAZON EMPLOYMENT SOCIETY: LADY BRABAZON'S ADDRESS TO THE METROPOLITAN POOR LAW GUARDIANS' ASSOCIATION IN 1882

"NEED THE INFIRMARY INDOOR PAUPERS BE UNEMPLOYED"

"YOU who are familiar with the Infirmary Wards of our Workhouses, and who have the welfare of the inmates much at heart, can scarcely have failed to be impressed with the need which exists, in most of these institutions, for creating occupation for those paupers whose age or infirmities prevent them from being employed in the routine work provided for the able-bodied. I therefore venture to trespass on your kindness in bringing to your notice a very simple proposal which I have to make to the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians. First, may I remind you of the vast number of the so-called old and infirm paupers (which appellation includes the sick as well as the aged) to be found in the Metropolitan Workhouses and Infirmaries. The number of such persons is so great that, had I not obtained the figures from a reliable source, I should hesitate to quote them. At the close of the week on which the statistics were taken 25,790 such paupers

were lodged in the various Metropolitan Workhouses, 12,240 of these being men, and 13,550 women. In one Workhouse alone 1446 were housed. I think I am accurate in stating that adequate work suitable to the capacities of these paupers is not provided. If so how is the dreary appearance of many of the wards to be accounted for, where such patients may be found? Here sad clusters of men or women may be seen with hands lying idly before them, dreaming away precious weeks, months, and years. Such an existence is not life; if it must be so designated, it is the life of a brute, rather than of a man endowed with reasoning faculties. To eat, to drink, to sleep, and dwell upon real or imaginary miseries, make up, it is to be feared, the sum total of many a sad existence. The idlers may, it seems to me, be divided into three classes—the wilfully idle, those who are so because no work which they are capable of doing is given them, and lastly, those whose physical infirmities render it impossible to employ them in any way. In referring to this latter class, I can only say that I believe it to be a far less numerous one than might at first be imagined. Whether few or many are to be considered as included in it, must greatly depend on the good will and ingenuity of those who have the charge of the patients. A clever nurse, and one who has the real welfare of her charges at heart, will often be able to devise some little occupation or interest for those whom a less ingenious person will consider it hopeless to attempt to occupy. She will find out, that even crippled hands can do something, and she will not consider age, so long as mental faculties are preserved, as a reason for complete idleness. It must be hard for the Workhouse officials not to lose patience with the wilfully idle paupers; with those who, when work is given them which they are quite capable of performing, refuse to do it, being well aware that, as

they are not on the lists of the able-bodied, they cannot be compelled to do the work required. Yet these, too, it must be remembered, have claims upon us, for either they are sick or ailing and enlist our compassion, or they are infirm, and thus deserve our pity. They may never have realised the advantages nor the dignity of labour, and may have been further demoralised by the influence of others ; for bad characters, both male and female, must needs be received into Workhouse precincts, and these cannot fail to exercise a corrupting influence on their comrades. I should like to see two forces brought to bear on the wilfully idle—the force of persuasion, and the force of example. ' Power itself hath not half the might of gentleness,' we are told, and many an idler might allow himself to be persuaded into rousing himself from his state of inertness, the more so if he saw industry going on all round him. He could not fail to watch the busy fingers of his companions, and at length a desire, possibly long dormant, might again spring up in his heart—the desire for work. I would fain hope, however, that a large proportion of infirm paupers belong to the class of those who are idle only because no suitable employment is provided for them, and that, before sickness or infirmity laid them low, they had been busy workers in the social hive. To such persons the lack of occupation must be distressing, and must add greatly to the burden of trouble borne by many of these poor creatures with exemplary fortitude. They would hail with satisfaction the possibility of employing themselves. It is in the hope of coming to the aid of such persons, that I would ask permission of the Boards of Guardians to allow me to give materials for providing some sort of light fancy work for patients in infirmary wards who are at present wholly, or at most only partially, employed. In no case would I wish to interfere with the labour of those

who are already better engaged in doing the needful work of the Institution which supports them, for I fully appreciate the fact that a pauper's labour should go towards his maintenance. Experience would prove what kinds of easy occupation could best be introduced for those who remain idle under the present system of work. Netting, knitting, and patch-work would perhaps be the simplest to start with; but once furnished with the proper materials, many paupers might prove themselves skilful in other kinds of light hand labour. The articles when made would need to be sold, and the profits realised should go towards the purchase of fresh materials; but I would crave that a small percentage be, if possible, reserved towards procuring for the patients some little luxury; I would suggest, for the purchase of newspapers and magazines. The feeling that by their own labour they could themselves provide these indulgences would prove an incentive to work. It would be presumptuous on my part, with my limited knowledge of the management of Workhouses, to attempt to lay down any rule as to the manner in which such an experiment could best be made. The internal arrangements of these Institutions vary so greatly, that even an adept in such matters might find it difficult to draw up any rules for general adoption. In some Infirmaries, it might be found best to place the materials in the hands of the sisters in charge of the wards, requesting them to give them only to patients who were unable to do the sewing needed for the Institution. In Workhouses where only pauper nurses are employed it might be inexpedient to entrust them with the extra responsibility of taking charge of the materials. One Institution might possess a large staff of Lady Visitors (some of whom might volunteer their aid in teaching the patients how to work), whilst in another perhaps not one visitor could be found, and it might for a time be needful

to employ a paid teacher. I feel convinced that in every case, if a Board of Guardians were unanimous in wishing to lessen the painful inertness visible in Workhouse wards, some way could be found to do so, and if the initiatory expense of the purchase of materials were met by me, no pecuniary risk would be incurred in starting the work, whilst if the scheme were properly carried out, it should become self-supporting. As the number of Metropolitan Workhouses is large, I cannot give more than £50 to any single Institution, and I could not promise to expend this sum on more than eight Workhouses in one year."

A resolution was then passed "that Lady Brabazon be requested, if she see fit, to try her plan as an experiment in one or two Infirmaries and Workhouses and report the result to the Association."

1902

BRABAZON EMPLOYMENT SOCIETY FOR DISABLED SOLDIERS

In 1902 my wife wrote as follows to the Press :

"As President of the Brabazon Employment Society, I was asked in 1899 whether an association of the same kind could not be started to benefit the disabled soldiers returning from South Africa. In conjunction with the Home Arts and Industries Association, a scheme was proposed and has been at work for the past eighteen months. Its object is to help those men who are prevented by their disablement from following their former trades, or those who have never been taught a trade to support themselves partially if not entirely, and thus to render themselves independent. Workrooms have been opened in various towns where men can attend, or

they have been taught in their own homes if too crippled to move. In Dublin a house has been taken and trades of all descriptions are carried on, the management having been lately taken over by the Irish branch of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society. A small workroom has been started in London and is doing well. The scheme is proving highly interesting, but at the same time it is somewhat difficult to work and is expensive. Our wounded heroes are scattered far and wide in their respective homes, and this leads to a great deal of correspondence. The number of voluntary teachers required is large, and in some cases professional training is necessary. Our maimed warriors on whose behalf I appeal have sacrificed limbs, health, and in many cases almost life itself in performance of duty. Shall we grudge them a little money, not to pauperise them, not to make them feel that they are placed just above the level of the beggar in the street, with time hanging heavily on their hands, but to assist them to lead honest useful lives ennobled by toil ? "

BRABAZON EMPLOYMENT SOCIETY

1914

Comforts for Troops at the Front

My wife on December 2nd, 1914, wrote the following letter to the *Morning Post* :

" In these very anxious days, when so many of our bravest and noblest have been and are exposed to awful danger in the midst of a cruel war, the least that those of us can do, living in ease and comfort at home, is to seek to lessen the privations of our gallant defenders on land and sea by sending them comforts of various descriptions. It is a very simple matter for the rich to do this, but such gifts may mean much self-denial to the

poor, nevertheless I am glad to say that many of those who have most limited incomes have been most eager to help our brave men ; if the workers could not give money they could at any rate give time and labour.

In this connection, may I say that large numbers of Brabazon Society workers, whose infirmities keep them shut up in Workhouses and other Institutions, have zealously worked for our soldiers and sailors. Already over one thousand articles have been despatched to the Queen and Women of the Empire Gift, the Royal Sailors' Rest, Portsmouth, the Soldiers' Home, Winchester, the depot for Indians, Somerset Street, and the No. 11 Stationary Hospital at the base.

Though these garments have been mostly made by very infirm and sometimes much distorted hands, yet probably none have been more willingly or better made, as the ladies who superintend and teach the work are most successful in obtaining good results, and not only useful, but also quite artistic work is often turned out. The society has hundreds of branches in the United Kingdom. The cheer and comfort that the visits of the ladies bring into the full lives of the poor infirm folks is most marked and encouraging."

VI

BOY SCOUTS

1909

IN December 1909 I wrote an article in the *Windsor Magazine* on "What the Boy Scout Movement may do for Britain."

"What does not the British Empire owe to Lord Roberts and to the hero of the defence of Mafeking? For not only did they save the honour of the country in the hour of its direst need in South Africa, but, instead of resting on their well-earned laurels as they might have done, they have both, in their respective spheres, laboured unweariedly day and night to arouse Britons to a knowledge of the dangers which threaten their beloved motherland, and have shown them how they may, if they choose, safeguard their position amongst the nations, and their hearths and homes from foreign aggression.

Lord Roberts's labours are well known. General Sir R. S. S. Baden-Powell's services in inaugurating and bringing to a successful issue the Boy Scout Movement are nearly as well known, especially since the appearance in Hyde Park on 'Empire Day' of the well-disciplined force of some fifteen hundred Scouts, besides several thousand other marshalled boys and girls, who saluted the flag, and Lord Roberts on that memorable day, and made the hearts of no less than a quarter of a million of spectators to tingle with patriotic fervour.

But why should the sight of fifteen hundred lads, a

fraction of the great force of two hundred and fifty thousand Boy Scouts throughout the Empire, cheer the hearts of unemotional Englishmen ? These young lads can be of no real present military service to the Empire, and even when in a few years they have developed into full-sized men, their numbers, though large, can hardly be seriously considered of first-class practical value in the military defence of the Empire.

And yet, as noble example is contagious, in spite of such criticism, the thoughtful and patriotic Briton, at the sight of these lads marching past the great Field-Marshal at the salute, with straightened backs, and eyes bright with determination to do their duty, could not fail to feel strengthened and to take heart of grace that so many of the children of to-day who are to be the men of to-morrow, through the teaching of General Sir R. S. S. Baden-Powell, have learnt aright the lesson that those who inherit the privileges of Empire, won by the blood and treasure of duty-loving, hardy, and self-sacrificing ancestors, must themselves be duty-loving, hardy, and self-sacrificing, and are bound in honour to hand on to their successors, unimpaired, the magnificent heritage to which, without exertion of their own, they, in the providence of God, have been privileged to succeed.

A great national, educational lesson lies at the back of the Scout movement. It is very generally acknowledged that one of the most serious dangers which threaten our country is the indiscipline which is so sadly apparent amongst numbers of the rising generation of all classes and of both sexes. Witness the number of well-to-do men and women who never give a thought to national responsibilities, who never raise a finger in support of any useful public undertaking unless it be by attendance at some social function where they hope to advance some personal petty ambition, men and women who live exclusively

for selfish pleasure, for sport, or for dress ; witness the slackers of both sexes, and of all classes, who shirk duty of all kinds, who do as little work as they can, and enjoy the fruits gathered by the hands of others ; witness the vast number of men and women of a lower class, determined to do no work, who, joining the ranks of the genuinely unemployed, make it more difficult for these latter to find honest work, and who live upon the State or private charity. These loafers and idle parasites dry up the founts of benevolence, are a curse to the genuine unemployed, and constitute a weakness and a source of serious danger to the nation.

There is little doubt that the great mass of these idlers owe their demoralisation in large part to lack of home training and of adequate control and discipline.

Owing to the excessive severity of our forefathers in the treatment of children, a phase of thought has of late years set in which errs in the other extreme, and which neglects the future happiness of the child in a vain effort to afford it the fleeting pleasure of the moment.

Many parents have been carried away by the attractiveness of a doctrine which appeals strongly to the kindly instincts of men and women, but it is not only the parents who are to blame, some portion of the responsibility for this state of things must be borne by benevolent societies, which, actuated by the best of motives, have, by their unwise action, occasionally made it difficult for parents to control their children and even magistrates have not always been judicious in their discrimination between what is or is not justifiable in the treatment of the young.

Without consciously accepting the doctrines of the hysterical sentimental school, there are many parents, otherwise excellent men and women, in whose homes,

partly through idleness, partly through cowardice, and the desire to lead an easy life, the practical evils resulting from neglect of control may be seen in children, who are permitted to be a law unto themselves, who are never called upon to subdue self, and who are the cause of unhappiness to themselves, of constant worry to their parents, and of annoyance to their neighbours. Had assiduity in the performance of duty, and instantaneous, unquestioning and cheerful obedience, been insisted on in early years, all this trouble would have been avoided.

In this connection I would strongly recommend the perusal of some short leaflets published under the expressive title of 'Duty and Discipline,' which can be purchased at one penny each. They are from the pens of writers eminent in very different walks of life, including the late leading German educationalist, Professor Paulson, Bishop Welldon, Prebendary Carlile of the Church Army, the Headmaster of Eton, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, the Editor of *The Spectator*, and several other well-known men and women.

Now the above remarks are in no way irrelevant to the title which heads this paper. Our young people need more discipline. The Scout Movement is popular, and brings with it just the discipline which our lads require, and which will make men of them. It arrives in the nick of time. It will save the weak lad from himself, and from his parents' folly. It will turn him from an undisciplined slacker into a man capable of self-control, fitted to face victoriously the temptations and the stern realities of life.

Hence from my heart I thank General Sir R. S. S. Baden-Powell for having devised means by which the British lad may, without soldiering and without being

exposed to any of the moral dangers of a soldier's life, obtain all the undoubted moral and physical benefits to be derived from discipline. May every success attend his efforts, and may he receive the support and encouragement of every man and woman who wishes well to the British Empire.

Dark, lowering thunder-clouds have already arisen above the political horizon—clouds which threaten no good towards the subjects and dominions of King Edward the Seventh. The British people are already being challenged by the virile races of the world, to show cause why they should be permitted to retain that leading position amongst the nations which they inherited from their duty-loving, hardy ancestors.

The Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest applies to nations as well as to species and individuals.

Weakness, moral as well as physical, however decked out with the trappings of strength, always has yielded, and, happily for the world, always will yield, to real power; and let us rest assured that the British race and the British Empire will prove no exception to this universal law of Nature.

A thorough national arousing, a determination on the part of the mass of British men and women—aye, and of British boys and girls—to put aside self and to seek the best interests of the community, can alone save us from the moral decay which has preceded the fall of all previous Empires.

I recognise in the Scout movement an effective means towards this end, but in so much as girls need as much as boys the stimulus of a wholesome discipline to strengthen moral fibre, I trust that it will not be long before we shall see a Girls' Scout Movement developing on lines suitable to the female sex.

Let us train up our boys and girls to be God-loving

and God-fearing, to be true to duty, law-abiding, hard working, not afraid of pain and discomfort, obedient and respectful to lawful authority, loyal, patriotic, and self-sacrificing, and the nation and Empire need have no fear for the future. 'There is no act,' says Thomas Carlyle, 'more moral between men than that of rule and obedience.'

All honour, then, to the Scout movement!"

1912

Having, in 1911, been appointed Boy Scout Commissioner for Ireland by Sir Robert Baden-Powell, I presided, in August, 1912, at a meeting held in Maple's Hotel, Dublin, of persons interested in the Movement, when the following resolution was adopted, "That this meeting expresses its desire to advance the 'Scout Movement' in Ireland, amongst all classes and denominations, and requests the Commissioner for Ireland (the Earl of Meath) and the three Commissioners representing the three organised Irish provinces, Earl of Bandon—Munster, Viscount Powerscourt—Leinster, Viscount Massereene and Ferrard—Ulster, and four Catholic gentlemen of influence, to be hereafter chosen, including the Earl of Fingall, to form a small provisional committee for the purpose of preparing a list of Catholic and Protestant gentlemen of influence, interested in the Movement, representative of Ireland, and willing to form a Scout Council; this list to be submitted for approval to a meeting of Scout Commissioners, Officers, and Scout Masters, to be summoned from the whole of Ireland, to meet at an early date in Dublin."

Owing to political difficulties, this Council was never

formed, but both Unionists and Nationalists agreed to recognise me as Commissioner for Ireland, as long as no Council was formed. The Catholics expressed their willingness to join a Council, as soon as Home Rule had been given to Ireland

VII

CHURCH CONGRESSES AND OTHER ADDRESSES

TRURO DIOCESAN CONFERENCE

1893

AT a Diocesan Conference at Truro in October, 1893, I addressed by invitation a Working Man's Meeting as follows :

" I have been asked to address you on some subject of general interest, and I have chosen, as the text of my discourse, the ' Ideal Citizen ' and his duties. Now I should like to make it quite clear, before I commence, that I do not arrogate to myself any special knowledge on this or any other subject. I have not come here either to lecture or to sermonise. There are, doubtless, several men in this room whose views would be far more worthy of attention than mine. If I address you, it is because I have been invited to do so, and because you and I stand on the common ground of British citizenship.

How properly to fulfil our duties as subjects of the King, and how to manufacture the ideal British citizen in the largest possible numbers, should be matters of the deepest possible interest to every British man and woman. If I fail to interest you to-night, the fault will lie in myself, and not in the subject-matter of my discourse, for every thinking man and woman must feel that their own individual happiness (or at all events, that of the next generation) will largely depend on the proper solution of the problem by the masses of this country. For we are all sailing in the same ship. If we, who form the

crew of the national vessel, neglect, mis-conceive, or misinterpret our duties, disaster and shipwreck are sure to follow, and in the day of reckoning we shall all be overwhelmed in the same destruction. It is of vital importance, therefore, to us all, that we should rightly appreciate our position as British citizens, and be acquainted with our duties. The first thing which, in my opinion, we should make clear to our minds is that, in a self-governing country, a nation's character is dependent on the characters of the majority of the individuals of which it is composed. If the men and women of a free country like Great Britain are God-fearing, just, honest, and pure, the Government of that country will be distinguished by these qualities of justice, honesty, and purity. If, on the other hand, they are unrighteous in their dealings one towards another, we may rest assured that that nation will not be governed in a righteous manner. If we desire, therefore, that our laws shall be just, and that the State shall be distinguished for righteousness (and what sane man or woman would wish otherwise ?) we should, each of us, do our best to live the life of the ideal citizen, we should endeavour to persuade our neighbours to do likewise, and should train up our children to understand rightly the duties of a British subject, and to appreciate the importance of the responsibilities which, in a short time, will devolve upon them.

What, then, are the duties of the ' Ideal Citizen ' ? Opinions, of course, may differ, but I should say that they may be classed under four heads, as (1) Personal ; (2) Domestic ; (3) Social ; and (4) National.

(1) Believing that we have not come into this world by chance, but that we are all sons of a Divine Father, the first personal duties of the ideal citizen are, to my mind, to endeavour (to the best of his or her ability) to find out what is the will of that Divine Being, and then,

as regards his or her own personal conduct, to conform to it in all things, to keep the thoughts and actions under continual self-control, so that he or she may never, in thought, word, or deed, as far as human frailty will permit, run counter to that will, to strive after the highest standard of human perfection, and thus become a true, manly man, or womanly woman, such as God intended a man or a woman to be.

The Greek ideal of the hero was 'a god-like man'—one who was partly descended from the gods, and who was, therefore, a partaker, in a portion, of the divine nature, whose duty and pleasure it was to fight on the side of the gods—a deliverer from, and a destroyer of, evil. The modern idea of a true hero or heroine is the man or woman who does his or her duty, and something more. Both conceptions are beautiful. 'Though heroism,' says Kingsley, 'may mean the going beyond the limit of strict duty, it never means the going out of the path of strict duty. If it is your duty to go to London, go hither. You may go as much farther as you like after that. But you must go to London first. Do your duty first. It will be time enough after that to talk of being heroic.' I may illustrate this by an anecdote connected with the annals of our Navy. Our sailors, having on one occasion been landed to besiege a fortress, received strict injunctions not to stray beyond the lines of their own sentries. A party of sailors off duty, having taken more liquor than was good for them, thought, under cover of darkness, to transgress their orders and discover what the enemy was about. Emboldened by drink and impunity, they approached close to the fortress, and one, bolder than the rest, climbed on the shoulders of his comrades, and actually scaled the walls and entered the fort. Finding no opposition, the others followed and surprised the sentries. The enemy, thinking the whole

British force was upon them, fled panic-stricken. The sailors sent back some of their number to inform their comrades of the position of affairs, and the fortress fell into the hands of the British force. Next day the sailors who had captured the fort were summoned before their commanding officer, but, instead of being rewarded, as they expected, they were severely reprimanded for disobedience to orders, and informed that if such a thing ever occurred again, they would be flogged, upon which the sailor who had first entered the fort replied that his commanding officer might rest assured he, at all events, never would take a fort single-handed again. The moral of this is that no amount of success will ever justify departure from the line of duty and obedience to orders. We, as servants of the Most High, owe just as strict an obedience to the commands He has thought fit to lay on us. Our duty, then, is to God first, and if we desire to lead the ideal personal life of the true citizen we must never omit to be, through prayer, in constant communion with the Divine Being, so that we may never mistake His commands.

(2) Now, as to the domestic duty of the citizen, i.e. his duty in the home, and in the family. It is only a platitude to say that the husband and father should be true and loving, the wife and mother faithful and devoted, and the children dutiful and helpful. But are we all that ? And, if we are not, are we not false to perhaps the most important trust which is placed in our hands ? For is it not rather in the home than in the school that manly and feminine virtues are built up ? And is it not from father and mother that the rising generation will receive its most lasting impressions ? However good may be the moral sentiments taught at school, they will weigh as nothing, in the balance of the child's mind, as compared with the practice and example it has before

its eyes at home. Is the father drunken, can he expect his children to be sober ? Is the mother light in her conduct, can she expect her daughters to be pure ? Is God neglected, or His Name taken in vain, in the home, can the lesson learnt in Sunday School be of much avail ? Believe me, as the home is, so, in a great measure, will the children be. Fathers and mothers ! leave not the education of your children to the parson and to the schoolmaster. However excellent they may be, they are often overworked, and cannot perform miracles. You, and you alone, are responsible for your children before God, Society, and the State. As you train them, so will they grow up. Teach them to be obedient, truthful, hard-working, honest, pure, self-sacrificing, and thoughtful for others. Train them up in the fear of God. Let your boys be respectful to women and the aged, and your girls be helpful, retiring, and modest. Where possible, let them join societies which may aid them in leading Christian lives, such as the ' Ministering Children's League,' and the ' Girls' ' and ' Young Men's ' Friendly Societies.

(3) And what as regards the social life of the ideal citizen ? I do not think we shall go far wrong if we say, that his or her conduct (whatever may be his or her station in life) should be that of a gentleman or of a lady. For there are many true gentlemen and ladies living in humble cottages. ' What is to be a gentleman ? ' says Thackeray. ' It is to be honest, to be gentle, to be generous, to be brave, to be wise ' (and I would add, to be pure), ' and possessing all these qualities, to exercise them in the most graceful outward manner.'

> ' 'Tis not the gently, graceful gait,
> Well-made clothes, well put on,
> The softly measured tone,
> Still talking of the rich and great,
> That makes the gentleman.

But 'tis the heart in danger true,
The honour free from stain,
The soul which scorns the vain,
Holding the world at its due,
That makes the gentleman.'

The true gentleman and lady will always be courteous, which means that he or she will be ever thinking how they can benefit, and do kindnesses to their fellow-creatures, they will do justice to their neighbours even at their own cost, they will ever be ready to defend the weak and the oppressed, and life itself will seem to them of slight importance when weighed against honour and the performance of duty. I think that the poor drunken soldier of the Buffs who, when captured by the Chinese, and ordered to prostrate himself on the ground before the hostile General, declared that, as a British soldier he 'would not bow to any Chinaman on earth,' and suffered himself to be killed rather than bring humiliation on his uniform, had something of the feelings of a gentleman in him. I am sure that Jim Bludso, the Mississippi steersman, who, when his vessel was on fire, turned her bow to the shore, and saved the passengers at the cost of his own life, was a true gentleman—at all events, at that moment of his life, though his manners may have been rough, and his language coarse.

'Through the hot black breath of the burning boat,
Jim Bludso's voice was heard,
And they all had trust in his cussedness,
And knew he would keep his word.
And, sure's you're born, they all got off,
Afore the smoke-stacks fell,
And Bludso's ghost went up alone,
In the smoke of the "Prairie Belle."

He weren't no saint, but, at the judgment,
I'd run my chance with Jim,
'Longside of some pious gentleman
That wouldn't shake hands with him.

He'd seen his duty—a dead sure thing—
And went for it there and then,
And Christ ain't going to be too hard
On a man that died for men.'

Surely we may place also in the same category, Bret Harte's Tom Flynn—the bachelor miner, who sacrificed his life in the mine for his married comrade.

' There, in the drift, back to the wall,
He held the timbers, ready to fall.
Then in the darkness I heard him call,
" Run for your life, Jake,
Run for your wife's sake,
Don't wait for me."

And that was all, heard in the din,
Heard of Tom Flynn,
Flynn of Virginia.'

(4) So much for the social, what about the national duties of the ideal citizen ? Surely he will do all he can to purify and strengthen the national life. He will endeavour to realise and fulfil the responsibilities which rest upon him as the citizen of a great Empire. He will spare no time nor trouble, in order to understand intelligently the national and political questions upon which, as a citizen, he may at any time be called upon to vote. He will strive to free his mind from all party or sectarian prejudice, and try, as far as in him lies, to throw his influence on the side of justice and of righteousness, even though the vote he gives may be to the disadvantage of his own trade, or class, sect, or party. He will use any influence he may possess to obtain the election, to all posts of honour or authority, of the best men, and the best men only, and having assisted to place them in power, he will do all he can to strengthen their hands, so long as he can effect this without violence to the duty

he owes to his conscience and his God. He will always be willing and ready to spend himself, his surplus time, and his substance, in the interests of the State, and in the defence of his country, he will see that his children are brought up to respect legitimate authority, and to understand intelligently, when they grow up, the national and political questions with which, in their turn, they will have to deal, he will show them why they have just cause to love the land of their birth, and (in this connection) I should like to bring to your notice an excellent publication, entitled the *Citizen Reader*, published by Messrs Cassell, of London, which should be in the hands of every British child. As in his domestic life he will place family before personal interests, and the welfare of society before that of his family, so he will assuredly place national advantage before that which is personal, domestic, or social. Many a husband has sacrificed himself for his wife, and many a wife for her husband, and many parents for their children, and children for their parents ; but what is more rare, and to my mind, not less admirable, is the deliberate sacrifice, in the performance of duty, of the family affections for the sake of a larger number of the members of the human family.

Such an instance was the action in America of a railway official, who, whilst in the act of turning a swing-bridge over which an approaching train had in a few seconds to pass, saw his own child, who was playing near him, fall suddenly into the river. He could easily have saved it, but if he had done so he would not have had time to close the bridge, and a frightful accident would inevitably have occurred. He recognised that his duty required that he should close the bridge before anything else, in order that, by so doing, he might fulfil his duty, and preserve scores of unknown lives which would otherwise have been lost. An instance of social self-sacrifice

for the sake of the national advantage may, from civil life, be given in the well-known action of the rector and inhabitants of a Derbyshire parish, who, in the time of the Great Plague, in order to save their neighbours, deliberately agreed to surround themselves with a cordon, and to permit none of their number to cross that line until the plague should cease. This did not take place until it had decimated the village, and carried off, amongst others, the noble-hearted rector and his wife. But the heroism of these men and women was not lost, for the plague never spread beyond their village, and their self-sacrifice was the means of saving thousands of lives.

As may be plainly seen from what I have said, the Ideal Citizen is, to my mind, none other than the Christian Citizen. We cannot, with all our philosophy, get higher than that. If each of us were only to carry out the commands of Our Lord, to love one another, and to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us, we should find the relations between men idealised, and the Kingdom of God would indeed have come into power. In the meantime, let us hasten on that day, by each of us striving in our own persons to bring the principles of Christianity to bear on the actions of our personal, domestic, social, and national life, and, in all things, to act up to our highest conception of the ideal Christian citizen.

> 'Love Virtue. She alone is free,
> She can teach thee how to climb
> Higher than the sphery clime
> Or, if Virtue feeble were,
> Heaven itself would stoop to her.'"

IRISH CHURCH CONFERENCE AT CORK

1894

In September 1894 I attended the Irish Church Conference held at Cork, and by invitation spoke on "The Church in Relation to the Social Questions of the Day." I assumed that the question I had been asked to speak on was, what should be the attitude of Christians towards these subjects? Did the Divine Founder of our religion take any cognisance of temporal and social questions, or was His teaching entirely confined to spiritual or moral themes? That He was continually going about ministering to the temporal needs of men was self-evident. He raised the dead, gave sight to the blind, and hearing to the deaf, cleansed the lepers, enabled the lame to walk, healed the sick, fed the hungry, wept with the sorrowful, and felt compassion for the widow. He distinctly told us that we should show mercy to our neighbour, and love him as ourselves, that we should visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction, that we should feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and visit the prisoner. Our Lord's commands to His followers are therefore unmistakably of a social character. We are distinctly enjoined to love, comfort, and assist one another in our journey through life. The parable of the good Samaritan shows us also, that we are not to place artificial limitations to our sympathies, which are to be as wide as humanity itself, but when we go beyond these general principles, and, for our guidance, look for instances in which our Divine Master rebuked social laws, customs, or habits of thought, we do not find them. We know that at the time of Our Saviour's appearance on earth there was much in the organisation, law,

customs, and habits of thought of society which could not have met with His approval, and yet there is not one passage to show that He directly rebuked these social iniquities by name, or enjoined upon His disciples any distinct programme of social reform. He sought the individual regeneration of human hearts. This once effected, all the rest would naturally follow. Such appeared to be the lines on which it behoved His followers to act. It seems evident that Our Lord intentionally abstained from criticism or denunciation of the political and social evils of the day, and refused to be an arbitrator in temporal disputes, knowing that the causes of many of these were temporary, and that, as the principles of His teaching spread, and the world became more thoroughly permeated by His Spirit, these evils would gradually, one by one, be mitigated, until ultimately they would give place to the reign of love and justice, of mercy and of peace. It appeared to be the duty of the representative and constituted authorities of the Church, to follow in these matters, as in all others, the example of their Divine Master, and if, on investigation, it be found that in His teaching He trusted more to the effect on the human mind of the inculcation of general principles of morality, rather than to denunciation of particular forms of social injustice, then it would seem to follow, that the conduct of the Church as a body should be directed on similar lines, and whilst never losing an opportunity of inculcating the duty of man to man as taught in the Sermon on the Mount, should avoid taking any active or partisan view in the social or political struggles between man and man, lest, through ignorance or passion, injustice, instead of justice, should be laid at the door of the Church of Christ. It should, I said, be clearly understood that in the above remarks I alluded only to matters of a party or controversial character,

and not to cases of undoubted cruel immorality and injustice, and that I believed nothing but good could arise from the Church taking the lead in every effort of a non-contentious nature, which had for its object the moral, mental, and physical well-being of the People.

SHREWSBURY CHURCH CONGRESS

1896

In 1896 I addressed the Shrewsbury Church Congress on the subject of " International Relations in the Light of the Gospel." I said, " The present aspect of the nations of Europe, armed to the teeth in the presence of each other, and ruining one another in a frenzied competition in the increase of their armaments, was hardly one which would seem to be consistent with the precepts of Christ, the Prince of Peace ; and yet, notwithstanding, perhaps partly in consequence of these armaments, I suppose there never was a time when the consciences of civilised nations were more sensitive to moral influences than they were at present. Though wars of aggression, prompted by low and selfish motives, might sometimes still be urged, yet even the most powerful autocrat or Minister would hesitate before openly engaging in a palpably unjust war of pure aggression and of conquest. He would not only fear to outrage the public opinion of the civilised world, but even in such a country as Russia, he would endeavour to cloak his real motive by appealing to the religious or national prejudices of his people, so as to insure their ready acquiescence in his ambitions or covetous designs. It was an advance in international morality when nations were ashamed to confess that their real reason for making war was greed of gold or of

land, love of glory, or personal or national ambition. They were justified in believing that the statesmen of Great Britain and of America would find that, in seeking to establish a permanent tribunal for the settlement of international controversies, they had not undertaken an impossible task ; for the practicability of international arbitration had already been proved. It was no longer an uncertain experiment, but an acknowledged success. In this century not fewer than eighty controversies between civilised Powers had been settled by arbitration. If so many international disputes had been amicably arranged by means of arbitration, why should not all, or nearly all, misunderstandings between the nations be settled peacefully ? Of the arbitrations referred to, forty-seven had been between the United States and twenty-one between Great Britain and other nations. It was not to be supposed that the establishment of international arbitration as an acknowledged and recognised means of settling differences between nations would, at once, or perhaps even in the distant future, abolish all wars ; for it must be remembered that there were certain classes of disputes, such as the question of national autonomy, which no self-respecting country would ever permit to be submitted to arbitration. It might even occasionally be found necessary for the nations to coerce a Government which had declined to yield to the decision of the international tribunal ; but of this they might be assured, that blood would be less frequently shed, and, as the consciences of the nations became more and more sensitive and enlightened, wars would diminish in number and in violence, and be more and more condemned by the public opinion of the world.

The education of children was often responsible for much of the animosity and prejudice which existed between the people of different nationalities. Those who

had the direction of learning should see that nothing was taught which might encourage hostile feelings towards foreigners, and that history especially was explained in a fair and Christian spirit. Without depreciating their own country, or diminishing in the least from the just glory which attached to heroic and noble deeds of past generations of British Kings, warriors, and statesmen, the teachers of youth should be careful that they were just in their criticisms of the actions of foreign nations and individuals, and if there was cause to blame their own country or countrymen they should not hesitate to point out to their scholars that, in these instances, there was no cause for national pride, but rather for sorrow that Britons or their rulers should not have acted a nobler part. If the brotherhood of man were more faithfully taught in our schools, there would be less race prejudice and men would act much more in the spirit of Him at Whose birth the angels proclaimed 'On earth peace, good-will towards men.'"

NOTE BY LORD MEATH ON THE IMPORTANCE OF CIVIC KNOWLEDGE

1896

In February 1896 I endeavoured to show that a great deal of ignorance existed in regard to the circumstances and social condition of the masses of the British people, as compared with those of other countries, and said: "It should be the effort of the patriot, the statesman, and the educationalist, to cast the most searching light on the government, laws, and institutions of the country, and, without concealing any defects from its rays, to take care that no lack of knowledge, no prejudice, shall disturb

the judgment of the rising generation in their estimate of the value of the institutions under which they live, as compared with those of foreign countries. At present a considerable amount of ignorance in regard to all matters appertaining to the government of the country exists, not only amongst the uneducated, but also amongst some whose social position and education would naturally lead one to expect to find in them a more accurate knowledge. For instance, I once in India heard the wife of a Bishop of the Church of England express surprise when she was told that Bishops in Great Britain were not paid out of the national taxes. In India the Bishops *are* paid by the State. This probably was the reason why this lady, although a Bishop's wife, was curiously ignorant of the fact that the practice in England is different from that in India, and that no Chancellor of the Exchequer, in presenting the annual Budget, ever asks the House of Commons to pass a vote for the payment of Bishops' salaries or of the stipends of the Clergy of the established Church, with the exception of Army, Navy, and Prison Chaplains. Again, it is not uncommon to find persons, otherwise well educated, who are unaware that the amount of the Queen's or King's Civil List was fixed by arrangement between Parliament and the Crown when the lands belonging to the latter were, at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, as on previous accessions to the Throne, taken over by the Government for the benefit of the nation. No alteration can, therefore, with justice be made in the amount paid by the nation to the Crown without the consent of the Sovereign, or, if the Crown objects, without first handing back to it the valuable estates of which it permitted itself to be deprived in consideration of the annual payment of a fixed sum of money. If this fact were more generally known, the number of those who raise their voices against what they

consider to be extravagant payment of the Crown by the nation, would be considerably diminished, for the honest among them would feel that justice and self-respect demanded that the nation should either adhere good-humouredly to its bargain, or hand back the property received. As a matter of fact the Crown has lost by the exchange, for, notwithstanding the present depression in agriculture, the lands given up by the Crown brought in annually in 1896 to the nation £146,839 more than the latter returned in exchange. The American citizen is taught from his infancy that the republican form of Government, as developed in the States, is the most perfect system yet devised by the wit of man for the regulation of human affairs, and he so constantly hears his orators allude to European governments as 'effete' and 'tyrannical,' that he naturally accepts such statements as the expression of incontrovertible truth. No one desires that we should in the education of our youth, follow the above example, and bring up a generation unwilling to acknowledge that anything worth imitating could possibly exist outside the limits of the British Empire, but as a nation we take too little trouble to foster a reasonable patriotism, and to show our youth the strong points of the British institutions and government. We leave them to find out for themselves—an excellent plan, if all our citizens could travel and compare one country with another, but this is possible to only a very small number. Some of those who remain at home, knowing the places where their own withers are wrung, and without information as to the nature of the sores from which their neighbours are suffering, are apparently apt to imagine that relief might be found by some change of government or institutions."

I noted Price Collier, the well-known American writer and public speaker, who, in an article which appeared

in the *Forum* in December 1894, said: "It must never be forgotten, even by the most fervent opponent of an aristocracy, that England is to-day the most democratic country in the world, where the rights of the individual are more respected, and where the individual has more of personal freedom than anywhere else in Christendom"; and I concluded my remarks by saying: "Statesmen, administrators, and philanthropists have much work still to accomplish in Great Britain before it can be considered a model land, but the Old Country is, after all, not such a bad place for an honest man to live in, and it is well that Britons should know its strong, as well as its weak points, and should not picture to themselves advantages in other lands, which only exist in their imaginations. Bolster up no rotten institutions, foster no vain illusions, encourage no false patriotism; but British citizens should know and be able to appreciate the points in which their constitution, their institutions, their laws, their customs, are worthy of admiration. To foster such a sensible and worthy patriotism should be the care of every British educator. No boy or girl should be permitted to reach manhood or womanhood, without being able to give some sound reasons for the patriotic faith which should be in him or her."

DERRY CHURCH CONFERENCE

1905

The Church of Ireland held a Conference in September 1905 at Derry, at which I was asked to read a Paper on "Christianity and Social Reform." My observations were based on the Scripture injunction, "This is my Commandment—that ye love one another as I have loved

you." I said: "In so far as social reform is imbued with the genuine spirit of love to all mankind, so far is it incumbent on all true Christians to give it their most earnest and whole-hearted support. This much is clear. But the social reform which, by the letter of the command, it is incumbent on Christianity to support, should be based on the very purest love towards all mankind—a love so transcendent as to be equal to that entertained by the Saviour for those He came to save—in other words, a love beyond the power of man to reach. Jesus, when He uttered these words, assuredly knew, and recognised, the limitations of men, and gave no command which it would be impossible for them to obey. Though we may never attain to the heights of our Saviour's love for men, that is no reason," I said, "why we should not strive to love our neighbour with the very best love of which our imperfect nature is capable; and, though social reform will, alas! never be without the taint inseparable from its human origin, there is no reason why we should not endeavour to eliminate from it, as far as possible, all baser elements, and render it as pure and as worthy as we can of the noble ideal of which it is the expression; for social reform, at its best, should mean the fulfilment of Our Lord's command. If this be true, Christianity, and that social reform which is based on a genuine unalloyed love of man for man, should be knit together by bands of steel. All human attempts to materialise the lofty ideal of Our Lord's command are sure to be faulty.

We, who profess to be His followers, should beware, lest we be too nice in the choice of our society, and of our labour for others. As long as we are doing our Father's will, it matters little who are our companions, or what may be our material surroundings. The prosecution of social reform may sometimes bring us into the company

of men, and women, with whom, under other circumstances, we would rather not be too familiar ; it may also entail unpleasant mental, physical, and even moral experiences, but as long as we are engaged in Our Lord's work, we should follow His example, and shrink from no human contact, or physical defilement, which labour for our fellow-men may entail.

It would appear to my humble judgment, therefore, that Christians should regard questions of social reform, primarily, in a benevolent attitude, and should be careful to abstain from hindrance to, or from hostile criticism of, new social reform departures, without the most careful and prolonged consideration of the merits of the schemes submitted to their judgment, always assaying their genuine character, by the touchstone of the command of the Master."

Having drawn attention to the example set by Christ, in His unceasing sympathy with suffering humanity, and His unfailing desire for the bodily, as well as the spiritual, welfare of mankind, I proceeded to discuss some of the hindrances to social reform. " Perhaps the greatest hindrance to good social work in the present age is the absence of the sense of duty in the minds of so many of the younger generation of a certain class of well-to-do men and women. An inordinate love of pleasure, which insists upon its selfish gratification, and leaves no time or room for noble purpose, or endeavour, seems to have taken possession of the minds of too large a number of the leisured youth of the country. On all hands one hears how difficult it is to fill the ranks of social workers with young men and women, as the older cease to be able to continue their labours. This is not as it should be. It is probably in a great measure owing to the desire of parents to make the lives of their children easier than were their own. The fault is in the parents.

They have loved too well, but not wisely. In all human affairs there is a Scylla and a Charybdis. It is not always easy, in avoiding the whirlpool, to prevent being wrecked on the rock." Dwelling for a moment on the vastness of the field which lay before the workers, I continued: "It may be said to me, 'You have claimed too close a relationship between Christianity and social reform. Many of the most noble labourers in this cause are not Christians and some are actually hostile to your faith.' This is perfectly true, but is it not a fact that the active manifestations of the love of man for men are almost universally to be found where the influence of the Man of Sorrows has made itself felt? Though men and women who are professedly non-Christian take a noble part in the forefront of the fight for social reform, consciously or unconsciously they are actuated by the spirit of Christianity, and in many cases refuse to acknowledge, not Christ, but the blurred and disfigured representations of the Saviour held up to their eyes by mortal and sinful hands." Having further illustrated that a spirit of Christianity will excite a desire to improve the bodily and spiritual welfare of society, and the individuals composing it, I proceeded: "Moral reform in the individual must go hand in hand with material improvement. It is useless to take the drunkard or the idler from his miserable hovel, and place him in a decent house, with every opportunity of earning a comfortable living, unless you can transform him into a sober and industrious man. As long as you leave him in his hovel, he has little chance of reformation; but it does not necessarily follow (though happily it does sometimes) that his improved environment reacts for the better on his moral nature. The hope of the future lies in the children. On them, in a large measure, should be concentrated the attention and the energy of the social reformer. They will respond

to and repay his exertions. Education—religious, moral, industrial, intellectual, and physical—should be the possession of every child in Ireland, whether he be rich or poor. Too much stress cannot be laid on the nobility of all labour, manual as well as intellectual, and I should like to see established in Ireland, as in Philadelphia, U.S.A., a technical college, combined with high-class secondary intellectual teaching, open free by examination to the scholars of elementary schools who could pass the best examination in literary subjects, on condition that six hours a day should be devoted by the successful competitors for five years to manual and technical work within the college. By this means, the vulgar and injurious prejudice against manual work is overcome, for the successful students are the intellectual cream of the elementary schools, and the finger of scorn can never be pointed at them as intellectually inferior to their comrades, who have deliberately turned away their attention from the useful practical arts of life. When these lads have completed their course, there is no compulsion laid on them to adopt a technical calling. If they have the ability, they can proceed to the University, but the knowledge of handicrafts which they have obtained will be of service to them all their lives, even though they should never have occasion to resort to these handicrafts for a living. Ignorance is at the root of a great deal of the suffering of the world—ignorance, especially amongst the mothers of Great Britain and Ireland, in regard to the bringing up of children—ignorance in regard to food and its preparation—ignorance in regard to the laws of hygiene, and the knowledge of physiology—ignorance in regard to the deleterious effects of alcohol on the human body. Prejudice, which is only another form of ignorance, is also responsible for much unnecessary suffering. So are indifference and idleness, which prefer present ease

to future health and comfort. Greater self-control and unselfishness must be taught to the children of all classes at home.

The first social reform needed is to restore in the minds of the young the noble word 'duty' to its former proper prominent position."

VIII

CHURCH MISSIONS

BIRMINGHAM

1896

AT Bingley Hall in 1896 I gave an address on Church Missions and said that the object of the meeting was to promote interest in all societies working abroad in connection with the Church for the advancement of Christianity. It might seem an extraordinary thing that it was necessary to hold a bazaar like that in an intelligent city like Birmingham in order to awaken interest in Church Missions, but they had to take things as they were. There were a certain number of people who from one cause or another doubted whether these missions did any good at all, and some went even so far as to suggest that they really did harm. There was a good deal of ignorant criticism with regard to Christian missions. Some of it came from people who had no sympathy with religion; some, again, came from persons who thought it was fashionable to sneer at religion; whilst a little no doubt came from people who honestly thought they had reasons for objecting to such work. I proposed to reply to the objectors under these three heads. If they asked "Was mission work successful?" I replied, there could be no doubt it was, and that statistics would prove it. There were 3,000 ordained mission clergy at work, and 2,400 ordained native clergy, whilst the number of actual native adherents

to Protestant Christianity was two and a half millions in India alone.

It might be asked, Were foreign missions doing any good ? In answer to that I would refer them to the testimony of the Secretary of State to the Council of India, who reported : " The Government of India is glad to acknowledge the great obligation under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions made by the missionaries." Christianity was calculated to promote social progress and national development in an uncivilised country. There was no such thing as a civilised nation without Christianity, a fact indubitably proved by the condition of Turkey to-day. If they looked to India to-day and compared it with the condition of that country before it came under British rule they would obtain some idea of the value of Christianity as a civilising influence. Another question their opponents asked was whether it was the duty of the Church to spend the lives of its best sons and its treasures in promoting Christianity in, say, such dangerous countries as China, and such unhealthy places as Zanzibar, when there was a large field for good work at home ? The answer to that was equally simple, for in illustration of it I could not do better than quote the words of the famous Duke of Wellington, who was once asked the same question by a clergyman. The Duke's great idea of life was obedience to orders, and in reply to the clergyman he said : " Why do you ask me such a question ? You must have your marching orders." The clergyman said he did not quite understand his Grace and the Duke went on : " Have you in your Bible any instructions from your Commander what you are to do in this matter ? I have always understood that He said, ' Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.' Now as a soldier, I can only follow my orders ; I am not permitted to enquire whether the

work I am told to do is a dangerous one or whether it is a useful one ; whether it is likely to be successful or whether the experience of other commanders shows me it leads to failure ; all I have to do is to obey the order to march. I should imagine, though I am no clergyman, you are very much in the same position, and I cannot understand your putting such a question to me when you have such a very clear and definite order before you to march." I was inclined to believe that a good deal of the opposition to foreign missions came from people who had only had experience in the port and garrison towns of India and elsewhere. No doubt in these places there were a great many natives who found it to their interest to trade under the pretence of being Christians —although it was merely outward pretence—and it was those people with whom their officers, seamen, and merchants were usually brought into contact, and from whom they naturally formed a very erroneous conception of what foreign missions were really doing. There were hypocrites everywhere, but it was unfair to judge harshly the good work being done by the great mass of missionaries, because a few failed to be faithful to their vows and responsibilities.

IX

DUTY AND DISCIPLINE MOVEMENT

1908

APPEAL TO MOTHERS

IN 1908 I issued the following "Appeal to British Mothers": "I have been bold enough to call the few observations I am about to make an 'Appeal to British Mothers,' as I am specially anxious that all mothers who may do me the honour of reading this appeal should realise, as I know large numbers do, the closeness of the connection between the baby and the Empire.

When a mother once realises that the baby in her arms will, if it lives for some twenty years, assuredly become a responsible citizen of the British Empire, and will, together with 54 millions of other white men and women, rule over the destinies of some 350 millions of helpless, voiceless, dependent coloured peoples, all subjects of the King-Emperor, and that her baby is destined to assist in governing one-fifth of the earth's inhabitants, and of ruling over one-fifth of the earth's surface—when, I say, a mother once realises these stupendous facts she must indeed be devoid of imagination and of a sense of responsibility if she does not feel moved to exert every power with which God may have endowed her in order to train that child so that, when it comes to full age, it may be fit to bear worthily the heavy,

though honourable burdens attached to British citizenship.

It may be said that these are platitudes which are recognised and acknowledged by all patriotic, thinking mothers, and that there is no need to emphasize them.

Thank God! there are thousands who recognise the grave responsibilities attaching to British motherhood, and who are daily doing their utmost to train their children in all the virtues which tend towards good citizenship, but are there no exceptions, and do the mothers of the Gracchi constitute even a majority of the white married womanhood of the Empire? I fear not. Do we not find many households in which such elementary qualities of good citizenship as obedience to, and respect for, legitimate authority seem never to have been taught, and are certainly not being developed by discipline? Are the overwhelming claims of duty universally recognised in the modern nursery and schoolroom? Are the virile qualities of fortitude and of unconquerable pluck in the face of difficulties, so indispensable to a ruling race, taught by example and by precept in the majority of modern homes? Do all mothers remember that God has given them these young minds and bodies to guide and train, and that they cannot shirk these duties without cruelty to their offspring and treason to the race?

I fear that some British mothers do not recognise that in the training of their children they have mistaken weakness for love and laxity for kindness, forgetting that the moral virtues have always withered and died under the soft breath of ease and luxury, and have flourished under the bracing blasts of pain, of struggle, and of discipline. The path of duty is indeed the path of safety in the nursery as well as in other departments of life.

My appeal to British mothers is to consider themselves

the trustees of the Empire in the training of their children.

Should these words meet the eye of any mother who cannot honestly say that in training her child she has considered her duty in this respect to her race and to the Empire, and should she henceforth determine to take the matter into her more serious consideration, I shall not think that this letter has been written in vain."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE CONFERENCE OF LADIES ON DOMESTIC HYGIENE, CHILD STUDY AND SOCIAL ECONOMY AT BIRKENHEAD

1910

By Lord Meath

" I have been honoured by an invitation to read before you a Paper in answer to the question, ' Are the tendencies of present educational and social influences in the direction of an unwise sentimentality tending to a weakening of the moral fibre of children, and becoming a serious social and political danger to the State ? '

Before an answer can be given to this question it must be shown that present educational and social influences *are* in the direction of an unwise sentimentality and that they are leading to the weakening of the moral fibre of children.

If the answer to the first two of these questions be in the affirmative, then I conceive that there will be no occasion to argue that any weakening of the moral fibre of children must inevitably become a serious social and political danger to the State. Few will be found to deny that a people of weak moral fibre are as a matter of course in serious social and national political danger.

The injurious effect of indiscipline on health is self-evident.

Now what is unwise sentimentality, and is there such a thing as wise sentimentality? Our late distinguished visitor from across the Atlantic, ex-President Roosevelt, would, I think, question whether sentimentality could under any circumstances be called wise, for he told us lately in the London Guildhall that 'Of all the broken reeds, sentimentality is the most broken reed on which righteousness can lean,' and when asked by a correspondent to substitute the word 'sentiment' for 'sentimentality' he declined, saying, 'I regard sentiment as the exact antithesis to sentimentality, and to substitute "sentiment" for "sentimentality" in my speech would directly invert my meaning. I abhor sentimentality, and on the other hand I think no man is worth his salt who is not profoundly influenced by sentiment, and who does not shape his life in accordance with a high ideal.'

I presume the framers of the question meant by sentimentality that natural repugnance to coarseness and brutality which is the hall-mark of the gentleman or gentlewoman, and which is a wholly laudable quality as long as the heart is under the control of the brain. Sentimentality in this sense becomes unwise when the emotions of the heart reject the controlling guidance of reason. Under these circumstances sentimentality may become not only unwise but unjust, cruel, and harmful, by ignoring the consequences which result from thoughtlessly and selfishly yielding to the emotions of the moment.

If this be a proper definition of unwise sentimentality it needs no special power of observation to perceive that society is to-day suffering from its effects in a manner wholly unknown to previous generations. In former days

no one doubted that it was the duty of parents and teachers to train children, to enforce obedience, and to punish idleness and evil-doing. To-day there is a school which deprecates all coercion, and, if the child chooses to turn a deaf ear to the advice of experience, would allow it to choose its own path through life. The sufferings in after years which such conduct entails on the child are far more cruel than even the extreme severities which fell to the lot of some children in former days, and from which the present unwise sentimentality of to-day is probably a reaction.

Without wishing to revert to these severities it is to be hoped that the common sense of the nation will perceive that a reasonable discipline is essential to the happiness of children, and that no nation can be great or maintain its position in the face of disciplined competitors unless it has trained its children to find their happiness in the fullest exercise of the powers of mind and body, in respect for authority, in self-control, and in self-sacrifice for the public good. How far short of this ideal do the majority of us fall! and how few parents there are who devote even five minutes a day to the training of their children!

The peril is real, and all lovers of their country should seriously consider what steps they can individually take to prevent the spread of doctrines and actions tending towards such a grave danger to the State as would most certainly arise if any appreciable number of the British race were to be infected by the moral flabbiness of the hysterical sentimental school of thought.

The need for a stricter training of children becomes more apparent when we look round us and see how the peace and happiness of many families are being ruined by the indiscipline of the children who are permitted to be a law unto themselves. Spoilt children are not

happy. They are continually crying, they are discontented and quarrelsome. Who are responsible for this unhappiness? Society and the parents. The alleged motive on the part of many parents for not interfering in the upbringing of the child is that they desire that it shall enjoy a good time in its youth; but results show that, quite irrespective of the future inevitable evil consequences which are sure to overtake the spoilt child, the undisciplined boy or girl, as a rule, is of all children the most miserable.

We are raising up a generation far too largely composed of men and women who have never been trained to put their whole souls, minds, and bodies into the performance of the duty of the moment, who have been permitted to shirk real hard work, and to be satisfied with half-performances; men and women who are accustomed to look at all matters from a selfish, personal point of view, and who do not recognise that they owe duty to the community or to the State.

These decadent men and women are in part the outcome of an unwise sentimentality which hampers authority and stays the course of justice, because forsooth 'coercion' has a hard sound, and the word 'punishment' in the mind of the unwise sentimentalist is almost an anachronism, and is well-nigh synonymous with outrage and cruelty.

If the British Empire is to be maintained it must be through the strenuous wills, the active brains, and the virile bodies of the 55 million of white men and women who are to be found within its extensive borders.

The subjects of the King-Emperor number 400 million, of whom 345 million are coloured. These 345 million are entirely dependent on the 55 million of white men and women for their happiness or their misery; they are voiceless and voteless, and yet we are educating

them and are training them for the time—distant at present —when they will be fit for self-government. They are increasing in a far greater rate than the whites. Is it not then of the utmost importance that the 55 million of whites who rule the Empire should be so immensely superior morally, mentally, and physically, to the 345 million of coloured subjects of the King, that the latter shall recognise at once their superiority and willingly acquiesce in their rule ? For do not let us imagine that we can indefinitely rule these enormous populations, at present seven times as numerous as ourselves (and every generation is increasing the disproportion) except with their goodwill. We must prove to them that we are worthy of rule and of Empire. We can only effect this by knowing the meaning of the words ' responsibility, duty, sympathy, and self-sacrifice.' A ruling race must be trained in a hardy, Spartan-like school. It must learn to think of the community and of the State, rather than of self ; it must not be afraid of pain and hardship ; it must recognise authority and welcome discipline ; if thereby it be rendered worthier of the great responsibilities which rest upon its shoulders. Let us never forget that we are citizens of the greatest and most unique Empire the world has ever seen, and that our responsibilities are proportionate to our greatness.

The social and political dangers awaiting the State which may have been foolish enough to permit its children to cast off its authority must be obvious to all who have eyes to see and ears to hear. The tendencies of present educational and social influences seem to be in the direction of an unwise sentimentality and should, under these circumstances, surely give us cause for serious thought.

Listen to the words of a man who has done more for alleviating the undeserved sufferings of the genuine

unemployed than most of his time; a man, however, who does not permit an unwise sentimentality to blind his eyes to the fact that Great Britain is the only country, America excepted, which is cursed by armies of men and women who have neither the desire nor the power to perform a proper day's work. Prebendary Carlile, the founder of the Church Army, says: 'Coming in contact, as we do in the Church Army, with so much of the weak and evil side of human nature, one cannot fail to be struck with the awful results of this mistaken kindness and indulgence. I should be afraid to say what proportion of the men who throng our labour homes can trace their downfall in part, at any rate, to parental weakness. In our prison work we meet with innumerable men and lads who need never have been in prison at all if there had been even a moderate degree of parental wisdom and control. I met, some time ago, with so apt an instance that I am tempted to refer to it at some length. A father and mother in a good station of life had a son about twenty years of age. He was a young man not wanting in intelligence, and had, at any rate, the opportunity of a good education. He absolutely refused to do anything to earn his own living, and was to all appearances an incurable young savage. He habitually drank to excess and was not even at the pains to conceal his habits from his parents. He used to come in at all hours of the night, rousing the household to supply him with food and drink, and his behaviour was such as to cause scandal and remonstrance on the part of the neighbours. No decent woman was safe from insult at his hands. At the request of his parents he was taken on by the Church Army as a clerk, but after working for half an hour he threw down his pen and went away refusing to work any more. On more than one occasion he showed actual violence to his parents. They acknowledged that they

never corrected him as a child, or denied him any indulgence, and that it was a lack of discipline in early life which made this miserable young fellow what he is. Yet they did not appear to see that they were in fault, and responsible, not only for the existing misery, but for the young man's ruin, here and hereafter. With proper early training the lad would probably have turned out well, a credit to his parents, and have lived a happy and useful life.

This shrinking on the part of parents from the fulfilment of duty, and the tendency to regard immediate physical pain as the chief evil, to be avoided at all hazards, and physical ease and pleasure the most desirable objects, are due to the general softness of the times. We see the same symptom in a hundred different ways—the avoidance of motherhood, the pursuit of luxury, the unwillingness of young men to serve as Territorials, and the crowds who flock to watch hired players play games. On the other side, it may be said that there never was a time when pity for the sick, needy, and outcast was more abundant or more practical. We of the Church Army should be most ungrateful to deny it ; but compassion is one thing, and love of ease and pleasure and shrinking from pain and sacrifice are another.'

It is an unwise sentimentality which prevents the State from dealing effectually with systematized idleness. It is an unwise sentimentality which endeavours to weaken the arm of Law and Justice in the protection of society against the violent, the criminal, the idle, and the evil-doer of all kinds.

It is an unwise sentimentality which pampers the criminal, the thriftless, and the loafer at the expense of the honest and the hard-working. It is an unwise sentimentality which unnecessarily interferes between parent

and child, and between teacher and scholar in the maintenance of a reasonable discipline.

All these influences are tending to destroy the moral fibre of the race—to produce soft, flabby, self-indulgent, conceited, self-centred men and woman—discontented with the world, and attributing their failures not to their own faults and weaknesses, but to the injustice of the world in which they live. The strong, disciplined men and women will overcome circumstances and wrench success from the very grasp of failure.

Retaining to the full our compassion for all forms of weakness, of folly, and of crime, let us see to it that we lose not our sense of proportion, or clear vision of the consequences of our actions, but ever bear in mind that the true happiness of mankind is only to be found through constant and strenuous conflict with all those evil and debilitating influences which tend to make mankind soft, selfish, sensual, and pleasure-loving ; let us not regard temporary suffering as the greatest of human evils, if only there be a hope that discipline may strengthen character and restore a healthy virility to the weakened will of either men or nations.

Let us build up the character and strengthen the moral fibre of our children and we may rest assured that the social and political dangers which seem now to threaten the State will be successfully met and overthrown. Children thus trained and disciplined will in a few years have grown into strong, hard-working, duty-loving, God-fearing men and women, rejoicing in their strength, gladly shouldering any burdens which the future may hold in store for them, proud that the British race should have been chosen for such a high and noble work as that of building up an Empire extending over one-fifth of the earth's surface, and containing one-fifth of the population of the world, and determined to prove

themselves not unworthy of the great task committed to their charge.

> ' Pray God our greatness may not fail,
> Thro' craven fear of being great.' "

HOME CONTROL IN THE TRAINING OF CHILDREN—ITS NECESSITY

1914

By Lord Meath

" It can hardly be denied that there is special need in these days to emphasize the importance of home control in the training of children. Its gradual decadence within the last two generations is patent and beyond all doubt. One only needs to keep one's eyes open in order to be aware of the numbers of undisciplined and uncontrolled children growing up around one without guidance and without self-restraint. Within the last fifty years many parents have deliberately uncrowned themselves, have stepped down from the dais of authority, and have ceased even to pretend to guide and control their offspring. Some have taken this step from conscientious motives, some because they believed they were following thereby the spirit of the times, some because they considered it the fashion, some from sheer laziness or desire to be relieved of a burdensome responsibility, and some because they gained thereby more time for selfish indulgence and amusement. But whatever the cause, the lamentable results of such neglect of home responsibilities and duties are equally noticeable and are equally deplorable.

The seriousness of the evil is acknowledged and deplored by many eminent and well-informed men and women. ' The future of our race,' says Lord Charles Beresford,

'depends upon the children of to-day. That strong sense of duty, without which an individual or a people becomes soft and degenerate, is not so clearly visible as it was—the present tendency is to think of self, pleasure, indulgence, and to work only for personal objects.' 'The lack of any effective educational and disciplinary control over the boys,' says Mr Winston Churchill, 'from the time they leave school till they become workmen, is one of the most serious features of the present situation.' And the late Rev. J. B. Paton, Principal Emeritus of the Congregational Institute, lately wrote: 'It is the great mass of our working youths who are fearfully neglected and injured both in their homes and in the workshop. They have little or no discipline. Our best working men are feeling this.'

But the lack of home control is not confined to this country. The well-known American writer, the Rev. J. R. Miller, says: 'There is in our country, as well as in yours, a painful lack of firmness and discipline in home training, and consequently a lack of fine results in character which would come from such discipline.' And he is supported in this view by the Dean of Denver, who gives the following astounding facts in regard to moral lawlessness and juvenile crime in the United States; a country, let it be remembered, where home control has perhaps been more relaxed than anywhere else. Dean Hart says: 'One death in every sixty-five in the United States is either a murder or a suicide. Crime is steadily increasing from one for every three thousand of the population fifty years ago, to one for every three hundred. To-day there is one criminal in actual durance for every two hundred and fifty of the population of Colorado. This condition of declining morality must continue till the children are taught to be moral in the home and in the school.'

But moral lawlessness is no less baneful to the community than criminal lawlessness, and divorce is a gauge of moral lawlessness. In 1904 there were 61,000 divorces in America, as against 177 granted in England and 19 in Canada! In Denver in 1909 there was one divorce for every four marriages; and in one day in the month of July 1910 the Court granted thirteen divorces, when eleven marriage licences were issued the same day. In regard to juvenile crimes, there were in 1899, in Chicago, 17,300 prisoners under sixteen. In a generation of Denver boys, two thousand had been in gaol—one in every five. Judge Lindsay (of the Juvenile Court, Denver) stated that from his two years' investigation he should estimate that at least fifty per cent of the Denver boys were dishonest. In the face of this alarming condition of the morality of the nation, it must be confessed that the public education is a failure. It fails to do that very thing for which education is undertaken; it fails to train our youth to the yoke of discipline and obedience: it fails to create in them a principle of energy which enables them to resist a temptation; it fails to induce them of their own will to accept the law of labour and duty.

Of course, it is patent to everybody that the first stimulant to any movement of reform is information as to its necessity: and in this country where the education is entirely secular, as a rule crime has steadily and consistently increased, and it will necessarily do so until children are supplied with some incentive to keep them moral.

The need of a stricter home control has not escaped the attention of Italian statesmen. The Marquess of San Giuliano, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Italy, wrote: 'Indiscipline is surely one of the greatest evils of modern society: it is continually spreading and

menacing the very foundations of European nations.' It is probable that the unprovoked murder of an Italian schoolmaster by one of his scholars, who was chosen by lot from amongst his fellows to perform the dreadful deed, for no other reason than that the teacher had not given as many good marks as the children thought were their due, may have given Italian statesmen cause to consider whether the practical abolition of all effectual forms of control in State schools has proved a national blessing or the reverse.

There are signs, however, that a wholesome reaction against this widespread neglect of home duties has already commenced. Parents are beginning to perceive that neither homes nor children are the happier for this comparatively recent relaxation of home discipline.

Indeed, there is grave cause to believe that there is less happiness in many modern homes where the Law of Solomon is neglected, than there used to be even in the perhaps over-strict days of half a century ago. Human character does not appear to have been strengthened by the emancipation of the immature mind from parental control ; a hope firmly cherished at the time by those who first broke loose from the traditions of the past.

Doubtless some characters will grow the stronger for having had in earliest youth to trust entirely to themselves to choose the right and to resist the wrong ; but human nature is human nature, and it is to be feared that, like the young sapling exposed to the continuous wind, the young mind will as a rule bend to the pressure of evil from within and from without unless strengthened by the God-given aid of strong and loving parents. Habits formed in early youth, whether for good or evil, exercise a dominant influence throughout life on the human character. Therefore, let us instil good ideas into the infant mind, and encase the young soldier in

KILLRUDDERY

the armour of healthy, sound, and well-regulated habits, which shall shield him from hurt until he is strong enough to dispense with the artificial defence of custom. By withholding our aid in early youth we are defrauding the children of the parental guidance and help which even the brute creation is taught by instinct in many cases to render to its young.

We have a duty to perform to the State as well as to the family, and as the stability of the nation depends on the stability of the characters of the units which compose the nation, we have surely no right to imperil the national security for personal selfish reasons, or even in furtherance of ideas which are new to the world, and do not bear the hall-mark of reasoned experience.

Jurists also are awakening to the dangers which threaten Society and the State by the increase of crime and the present humanitarian tendency to excessive leniency.

The present acknowledged indiscipline in the home is doubtless due to a reaction from the over-severity of former years, and the pendulum of public opinion having swung too far in the direction opposed to that which it occupied, say, sixty or one hundred years ago, will in all probability within a short time swing back again to a position we may hope approaching more nearly that of equilibrium. For if home control be really the basis of national character, and if the prosperity and stability of a State be dependent on the character of its citizens, can anyone doubt that the sturdy common sense of the British people will ultimately find the happy medium between too great severity and too great laxity in the training of children ?

Grave imperial as well as national considerations demand that at all events every one of the ruling race, every white subject of King George, shall be so trained in early youth as to become, when he or she reaches years

of discretion, as perfect a man or woman in soul, mind, and body as forethought, training, and discipline may be capable of producing.

If the British Empire is to last, the God-fearing, virile, duty-loving, national character which has raised the British race to its present height of power must be preserved at all costs ; and it is through home control that this character has been formed in the past, and must be maintained in the future.

British parents should realise that on their conduct towards their children will depend the future of this magnificent, and we believe, notwithstanding all its failings, beneficent Empire.

If they bring their children up with noble ideals ; in habits of diligence, alertness, obedience, and respect ; if they teach them to be unselfish, scornful of pain, and swiftly obedient to the commands of parents and teachers and of all lawful authority, this Empire will last, and will be a blessing to the world ; but if, on the other hand, the children are allowed to grow up without guidance and without discipline, if they are permitted to be insubordinate, selfish, idle, luxurious and soft, the British Empire will suffer the fate of all the other great political organisations which have preceded it, and which have fallen not so much through outward attack as from inward decay.

All, therefore, to whom the welfare of their country is dear should never cease to practise and to preach the tenets of the gospel of home control and of duty towards the community and the State. Let the wise, noble, and memorable words of our King ever ring in our ears as a trumpet-call to home control and family discipline :

' The foundations of national glory are set in the homes of the people, and they will only remain unshaken while the family life of our nation is strong, simple, and pure.'

Those who have been gifted with both the desire and the means of benefiting their generation and the Empire might find many less effective means of doing this than by joining the Duty and Discipline Movement, 27 Chancery Lane, London. Already its membership amounts to nearly 3,500. It is a campaign against juvenile indiscipline. It deals with principles, not with methods. Methods are left to the intelligences and consciences of individuals. Perhaps you ask me what you can do. Approach the clergy and invite them to recommend the Movement from the pulpit. Write letters to the Press on 'Duty and Discipline.' Arrange drawing-room meetings, and speak. Address schools on the subject. Address patriotic leagues. Point out that there is greater danger to the nation and Empire from indiscipline than from foreign ironclads. We are all familiar with the grave external dangers to which the Empire is exposed, but do we consider sufficiently seriously the *internal* dangers ? Wealth, softness, foolish sentimentality which sympathises with the criminal and the slacker and hampers authority, selfishness, indifference to the public welfare, inordinate love and pursuit of pleasure—such are some of our internal dangers. Great Britain is crowded by men and women who have never learnt self-discipline—idle pleasure-seekers amongst the rich, loafers and slackers amongst the poor.

Our population as a whole is not trained to throw soul, mind, and body into the work of the moment. Do not let us sit down with folded hands and say : 'Ichabod. The day of Empire is past ! We cannot fight against the inevitable ! It is Fate ! ' Such has been in the past the degenerate cry of the Turk !

We have been guilty of indifference to national welfare ; we have been deaf to the repeated warnings of our wisest citizens. We have loved our own ease, our own pleasures, our own selfish wills.

It is now several years since our duty-loving King called on us to 'wake up.'

Have we obeyed his call ?

No, we have turned over on the other side and have bid him and others, who have warned us of our danger, to hold their peace.

It may even now be too late !

I hope it is not !

But it is the eleventh hour ! We shall have no further warnings if we still refuse to listen to the voice of Wisdom.[1]

Let us be found active when the hour of our ordeal arrives. At all events, we shall individually thereby escape the stings of conscience even should we escape no other stings.

What, then, can we do to save our Race and Empire ? We can, at all events, try to bring up our children so that when they attain to manhood and to womanhood they shall be worthy of their Imperial responsibilities. We can train them to love and fear God, and to be capable of no other fear. We can strengthen their wills and minds, and harden their bodies. We can train them in respect for authority. We can teach them, from their earliest years, the habit of instantaneous obedience to legitimate commands. We can saturate the bones of our boys and girls with 'grit.' We can teach them fortitude, and train them to despise pain. We can show them the supreme pleasure and moral profit to be obtained from a courageous struggle with difficulty or adverse circumstances. We can make them realise the pleasure and profit to be found in the struggle itself—that success or failure is a matter of comparative indifference as long as we have the satisfaction of feeling that we have done our

[1] We had no further warning ! The Great War overwhelmed us on August 4 of this year. We conquered, but we lost one million men through lack of preparedness.

duty, and have accomplished the very best result of which we are capable. We can teach them the meanings of the words, 'Responsibility, Duty, Sympathy, and Self-sacrifice.' This for our children. What can we do for ourselves? We can discipline ourselves. We can learn the sweetness of sacrifice in the interest of the future welfare of our children, nation, and Empire. We can endeavour to realise that it is not statesmen who can make or mar the future of our race, but the parents of to-day in whose hands rests the moulding of the children who twenty years hence will form the British People.

Let us then, without delay, join the Duty and Discipline Movement![1] Spread a knowledge of its propaganda! Persuade your friends to join! And perhaps a faithful remnant may yet be permitted to save this ancient realm from well-merited dissolution."

[1] Office of the Movement, 27 Chancery Lane, London.

X

EDUCATION

1893

EDUCATION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

HAVING accidentally discovered in 1893 certain serious defects in the teaching at this time given in elementary schools to both boys and girls, I lost no opportunity of bringing the matter to the notice of Parliament, and on August 1st, 1893, I asked H.M.'s Government whether, on the occasion of the next revision of the Education Code, they would lay greater stress on the teaching of physical exercises, of civic duty, and (especially in the case of girls) of the history and geography of the British Empire ? I reminded the House that I had on two occasions introduced a Bill for facilitating and encouraging the teaching of physical exercises in Board and voluntary schools, and had on other occasions drawn their Lordships' attention to the necessity of teaching cookery, civic duty, and other subjects. I was glad to find from the speech of the Vice-President of Education that the recommendations made by me had been adopted, and that the Vice-President was in favour of teaching physical exercises in our schools. I hoped H.M.'s Government would go beyond that simple expression of opinion, and would encourage managers and teachers by pecuniary inducements, and by putting these subjects on a compulsory basis. It was satisfactory to find from the

President's speech that 22,000 more girls than last year were being taught cookery; and I also rejoiced to find that a Bill was about to be introduced by the Government to prevent children being taken from school before the age of eleven, at which it was first permissible for them to enter factories. I proceeded to hope that H.M.'s Government would go beyond their evidently beneficent attitude on that subject. I hoped that children would be taught their civic duties, and would be made acquainted with their responsibilities as citizens. In reference to the teaching of the history and geography of the British Empire, it was a startling fact that the great majority of girls in Board Schools were never taught geography. This was in consequence of the arrangements regarding class subjects, of which geography was one. It was not permissible for girls at that time to be taught more than two class subjects, and as needlework was one, it stood to reason that every sensible girl took up needlework, which left only one other subject she could take up, and consequently she had to drop either history or geography, or both—and if history were taken up, so little time was given to it that the majority of the children never got in their studies beyond the time of the Tudors, though a few bright ones might reach the Stuarts, and so narrow was the scope of the history taught that they were never instructed in the periods which it was of most importance that the children of a democratic State who were going to be voters should be well acquainted with, for instance, those modern periods dealing with the rise and progress of the Empire. Children ought to be able to answer such questions as "What is the value to us of our Colonies?" "What is the National Debt? and when and how did it originate?" But very few indeed could answer such important questions.

The children should be taught that we are dependent for food upon our Colonies and upon foreign countries; and why should they not be taught something of the productions of the Colonies, and the advantage to us in having purchasers abroad for our manufactures? No prudent guardians would bring up the heir to a large estate without telling him all about its extent and the capabilities of its development. In the same way, the State ought to take care that the children of the country, who would be its rulers some day, did not grow up in ignorance of the vastness of the Empire, the responsibilities attaching to those who belonged to it, and the main principles of our foreign and Colonial policy. In reply the Earl of Kimberley, on behalf of the Government, expressed his general agreement with me, and their desire that the education of the children in the elementary schools should be of a more complete and practical character than at present, in view of their future responsibilities as citizens. My efforts in this direction were therefore not entirely wasted, as great changes for the better have taken place in the education of the children of the people since 1893.

EDUCATION

1917

On July 5th, 1917, an article from my pen entitled "The Kinema as a National Asset" appeared in the Educational Section of the *Kinematograph Weekly*.

"For some time past I have been conscious of a much neglected field lying to a great extent waste and uncultivated, in the possibilities of the application of the vast potentialities of the kinema to the many branches of Education. That these potentialities were not sufficiently

recognised by the Government and did not receive adequate encouragement for intelligent development is a fact that was recently made by me the subject of some remarks in the House of Lords.

To a certain degree my action was prompted by a letter that appeared in *The Times* signed by George S. C. Swinton, which contained the following :

' Let the Government authorise the organisation of a campaign of films, offer prizes for ten arresting stories, some one of these to occupy a central position in every programme in every kinema, and they will reach and influence a thousand food wasters for every one who will go near a food economy meeting or look at a food economy pamphlet.'

Kinema's Vast Possibilities

I believe this to be absolutely true, and should like to see the Government take a much more active interest in the possibilities of the kinema industry and utilise it for the public benefit without destroying its attractive character.

To my mind, there is no reason why—to use Mr Swinton's words—' the vast educational possibilities of the kinematograph ' should be limited to impressing on the mind of the public the need for economy in food.

All the numerous appeals made by the Government to the nation in this time of war might be brought home to the people through the eye, as well as through the spoken or written word, and through the kinemas they would reach the intelligence of just those classes which at present are the least influenced by the ordinary methods of making known the wishes of the Government.

Then, again, one should most seriously consider what an aid to knowledge the kinema might become were it

judiciously exploited by the Minister of Education. Might not history, geography, natural science, astronomy, biology, biography, and practically all other sciences be raised out of the ruts of boredom and be made of fascinating interest by cleverly-written scenarios and illustrated scenes which would lead the youthful mind to further and deeper study ?

Could it not also be rendered a valuable aid to moral education ? Is it beyond the powers of our leading authors and artists, without preaching or drawing morals—like the dull writers of a past generation—to attract the young by tales of self-sacrifice and of noble deeds ?

Might not a small Board of Control be formed under the Minister of Education, and power be given them to render useful to the nation this important and world-spread industry ? I do not propose that the Government should replace private interests in the kinemas. I suggest rather that, while the business is left in the hands of private enterprise, the Government should be empowered to acquire by subsidy, by exemption from taxation, or by some other mutually satisfactory means, powers to enable them to encourage the exhibition of suitable films, to veto the production of undesirable ones, and to introduce, to some small fixed extent, films of their own.

I believe that vast educational treasures lie hidden in the kinema mine, which, if properly and intelligently developed, might shed lustre on the name of any statesman bold enough to grapple with its development in the national interest."

XI

EMPIRE DAY

1896

THE QUEEN'S COMMEMORATION AND THE TEACHING OF PATRIOTISM

ON December 28th, 1896, I wrote the following letter to *The Times*:

"All true and loyal subjects of the Queen are at present exercising their minds how best to commemorate next year the reign which has been the longest of any Sovereign of these islands, and which has at the same time been the best, the most glorious, and the most productive of happiness to all classes within the Empire.

Already two most excellent schemes have through your columns been proposed to the public for adoption. I do not intend to add to their number; I merely desire to suggest that, without interfering with either of these proposals, a special effort should, during the coming year, be made, to include the teaching of loyalty and of patriotism in our system of national education. Little is done at present in this direction. No effort is made to show the rising generation that the love of Queen and of country is no mere idle sentiment, but is founded on accurate knowledge of the present and past conditions of our own people as compared with those of other countries.

If sentiment be steadied by knowledge, we need not fear lest patriotism should degenerate into jingoism. The latter is the offspring of ignorance, the former of reason.

A thoroughly suitable text-book for this purpose has yet to be written, but until such an one appears, Mr Arnold-Forster's *Citizen Reader* published by Messrs Cassell should be placed in the hands of all British children.

Let the managers of every school throughout the country see that in the course of the coming year each department is supplied with the outward emblems of the united Empire—viz, the portrait of the Sovereign and the Union Jack. Whilst the former retains a permanent position in the schoolroom, let the latter hang week by week over the class which has distinguished itself the most during the past seven days. A flag very suitable for this purpose, with flagstaff and gilt spear-head, can be obtained from Messrs Whiteley, Bayswater, for 7s. 6d.

In schools where the above experiment has been tried the keenest competition has arisen amongst the scholars for the honour of becoming the temporary custodians of the national flag.

Finally, let the anniversary of the accession of the Queen be made a universal school holiday, the scholars meeting in the morning at the school-house to sing the National Anthem and to salute the flag."

THE EMPIRE DAY MOVEMENT

1902

For several years the idea of the establishment of an annual Imperial "Empire Day" had been germinating in my mind, and as in 1902 a large number of Colonial and Indian Statesmen and Princes had assembled in London to attend a Conference, I thought the moment opportune to bring the subject to their notice, and to that of the British Government. I, therefore, on

July 13th, addressed the following letter to Mr Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., who was then Colonial Secretary: "For years I have advocated the establishment throughout the Empire of a day to be called 'Empire Day,' on which, by State regulation, in each portion of the Empire, a whole holiday shall be given to all scholars attending schools entirely or partially maintained out of public funds, with the exception of a couple of hours in the morning, these to be spent by the children in exercises of a patriotic and agreeable nature, and in listening to lectures and recitations on subjects of an Imperial character. Such a holiday should be held on the same day throughout the whole of the Dominions of the King-Emperor; if possible, I would venture to suggest, on May 24th, the birthday of our late Sovereign, Queen Victoria, Empress of India. I have advocated such a movement as calculated to hasten the time when the whole Empire shall be more closely bound together than at present, by drawing the attention of the next generation to imperial questions, by giving them the knowledge which shall enable them to perceive the advantages of a closer federation, by stimulating feelings of loyalty towards their common Sovereign, and by filling their minds with an affectionate regard for their fellow-subjects in other portions of the Empire. It seems to me that the presence in the British capital of the Prime Ministers and Statesmen of the Colonies, and of the Princes and Rulers of India, is a valuable opportunity for bringing about some common action in this matter, which should not be neglected, and I, therefore, must respectfully venture to draw your attention to the subject, and to express a hope that you will take the matter into your serious consideration, and endeavour, by consultation with your colleagues in the government of the Empire, to arrive at some mutual understanding, which may result in the establishment of

an 'Empire Day' which shall be simultaneously recognised throughout the whole of the dominion of the King-Emperor."

Mr Chamberlain, in his reply to this, encouraged me to use his own words "to bring the matter to the notice of the Representatives now in this Country, or of any of the other Colonies concerned."

I consequently wrote personal letters to the leading Statesmen at home, to the Prime Ministers of the Self-governing Dominions, to the Colonial Governors, and to some of the leading Princes in India.

The replies were unanimously in favour of the proposal, as far as the representatives of the oversea Dominions were concerned.

BRITISH YOUTH AND THE EMPIRE

1902

In December, 1902, *King and Country* published the following article from my pen:

"What is to be the future of the British Empire? We have just escaped by the skin of our teeth from a highly perilous position, which, but for the most marvellous good fortune, might have prolonged the war[1] for many years. Shall we learn by experience? Or, wearied by our exertions, shall we fold our hands in slumber, trusting to the chapter of accidents or to our lucky star to enable us once more to weather the storm should we again be overtaken by the tempest? Two and a half years' war! What experiences have we not passed through in that time? Some 400,000 men have during these eventful years learnt by personal experience how the real stern game of war should be played. Amongst

[1] In South Africa.

these were the most eminent of our generals, and many men of distinction in the political and social worlds. Will their influence be sufficient to bring about such reforms in our military organisation as shall render the Empire safe from internal rebellion and from external attack? We are not likely to reach this happy condition unless we take care that the rising generation shall realise the advantages which belong to the subjects of a world-wide empire, shall appreciate the benefits of union, shall understand the problems of Empire which await solution, and shall be alive to the dangers which threaten a realm whose constituent parts, separated by miles of ocean, are to be found in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia; and yet whose land frontiers bordering upon territories belonging to Germany, Russia, the United States, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Turkey, and Portugal, besides many barbarous and semi-barbarous countries, are, with the exception perhaps of Russia, more extended than those of any other Power in the world. To guard this enormous land frontier, and to maintain internal peace amongst the innumerable civilised, semi-civilised, and savage races which inhabit the Empire and constitute the 400 million subjects of King Edward VII, we have in the past been content to trust to the services of some 200,000 white soldiers recruited by voluntary enlistment. It is most sincerely to be hoped that the lessons we have learnt in South Africa will have taught us the folly of believing that such an empire can be adequately protected by so ridiculously small a number of fighting men. The Boers have shown us that, in order to become effective soldiers in the defence of their own country, it is not necessary for men to be herded together in barracks, or to be trained for long years in military exercises. On the other hand the war has proved that men are useless unless they

possess some discipline, are physically fit, and can ride, shoot, march, and shift for themselves. Conscription, in the Continental sense of the word, the country evidently does not need or want, but it does need that every healthy British lad should be so trained in his youth that, if the occasion ever arose, he could without delay take an active and efficient part in the defence of his country. During the recent war we had to send out men who could neither ride, shoot nor scout. Some of them had to be sent home at much useless expense, others paid the penalty of their inexperience with their lives, whilst the campaign was needlessly protracted, the prestige of the country lowered, and millions of pounds added to the expenses of the war which might have been saved had a small sum been annually spent in our schools on the physical and military training of our boys. It is most sincerely to be hoped that the Government will bestir themselves and use their influence to get our national schools to copy the example of Natal, New Zealand, and some other Colonies, where the training of cadets is encouraged, directed, and supported by the State. In New Zealand each school has its Union Jack, and the scholars assemble periodically to salute the flag. Furthermore, each school has its Cadet Corps, and it was the knowledge of the use of the rifle, the management of the horse, and the military and physical training they had received as boys which enabled the members of the Colonial contingents to render such effective service in the war.

Sentiment rules the world, and it should be our object to inculcate amongst the boys and girls of the Empire an ardent affection towards the Sovereign under whose benign rule all the self-governing Colonies and territories which acknowledge his sway are united, and to inspire a patriotic love for the flag which flies over one-sixth of the habitable globe.

To accomplish this, no better method could well be devised than that already in force in Nova Scotia, where, on the 24th May (the late Queen's birthday) the scholars of each school annually meet to take part in patriotic demonstrations and exercises calculated to remind them of their mighty heritage and of the responsibilities attached to the privileges they enjoy.

This day is called 'Empire Day.'

If 'Empire Day' were simultaneously celebrated in all schools throughout the dominions of King Edward a step would have been taken which would hasten by many years the advent of that federation so ardently desired by many of the most enlightened and eminent of the statesmen of the Empire."

EMPIRE DAY

1906

On October 14th, 1906, Mr Rudyard Kipling was good enough to write to me as follows :

" Some time ago you suggested that I might do a set of verses suitable for children on 'Empire Day.'

In my recently published book—'Puck of Pook's Hill,' there is a song which might be adaptable for this purpose. At least I have received many requests already from teachers and clergymen, asking leave to print it for children's use. It has occurred to me that if the song meets with your views, you might like to reprint it in leaflet form, and with music, for the use of the 'Empire Day' Association. While those who wanted to reprint the song in any other way (and there are several requests in) might be allowed to do so on payment, say, of a guinea, to the funds of the Association.

This idea is only a rough one, but I should be glad to

know what you think of it, as I want to formulate some answer to the people who are asking about the song."

This generous offer I, of course, gratefully accepted.

Here is the song referred to:

Land of our Birth, we pledge to thee
Our love and toil in the years to be;
When we are grown and take our place,
As men and women with our race.

Father in Heaven, who lovest all,
Oh! help Thy children when they call;
That they may build from age to age,
An undefiléd heritage.

Teach us to bear the yoke in youth,
With steadfastness and careful truth;
That, in our time, Thy Grace may give
The Truth whereby the Nations live.

Teach us to rule ourselves alway
Controlled and cleanly night and day;
That we may bring, if need arise,
No maimed or worthless sacrifice.

Teach us to look in all our ends
On Thee for judge, and not our friends;
That we, with Thee, may walk uncowed
By fear or favour of the crowd.

Teach us the Strength that cannot seek,
By deed or thought, to hurt the weak;
That, under Thee, we may possess
Man's strength to comfort man's distress.

Teach us delight in simple things,
And mirth that has no bitter springs;
Forgiveness free of evil done,
And love to all men 'neath the sun!

Land of our Birth, our Faith, our Pride,
For whose dear sake our fathers died;
O! Motherland, we pledge to thee,
Head, heart, and hand through the years to be."

EMPIRE DAY MOVEMENT

1904

On the 17th June, 1904, I issued the following circular letter to the Press :

" The promoters of the ' Empire Day ' Movement have been informed that in some quarters it is not clearly understood that the systematic education which they advocate in school does not confine itself to the teaching of a more accurate knowledge of all that is of common interest to the 400 million people throughout the world who owe allegiance to His Majesty King Edward VII. The promoters also lay the greatest possible stress upon the inculcation of the virtues of home loyalty and patriotism ; and especially do they desire to inculcate in the most earnest manner the teaching of civic duty in the family, in the parish, in the county, in the municipality, and in the mother country. They believe that, as charity should begin at home, but not end there, so patriotism and the sense of civic duty should find their first expression in action at home, and afterwards extend themselves to the furthest limits of the Empire.

They also hope that teachers will show their charges that true civic duty requires the stern subordination of selfish and class to public and national interests, and will endeavour to promote generally amongst all classes a more thoughtful regard than at present exists for the welfare of others, and especially of the weak, the neglected, and the poor."

LETTER FROM LORD MEATH TO "*WOMAN'S FRANCHISE*"

3rd September, 1908

EMPIRE MOVEMENT

" In your issue of July 23rd I see that you comment on my ' appeal to British women ' to exert themselves in the interest of the ' Empire Movement.' You point out in connexion with this that women will be able to do far more in training children to be good citizens when they themselves are allowed to exercise the rights of citizenship.

As a life-long supporter of Woman's Suffrage, I heartily agree with your contention. Will you allow me this opportunity, however, of pointing out what seems to me to be essential to the success of that co-operation and co-responsibility in government which women now rightly claim ?

If women are to wield equal power with men in the moulding of our national life, in whatever way that power may be exerted, whether by private influence, by contributing to the industrial wealth of the country, by training the young, by contributing to knowledge, or by participating in public life and service, it seems to me essential, if their power is to be as effective as they hope and desire, that they should train themselves for the exercise of it with all earnestness. I hold no brief for men in this respect. Only too many men lightly assume responsibility, private and public, without due preparation, and others repudiate it altogether. But is not the serious consideration of women needed to find a means whereby the training of the great body of average women shall result in an equal accuracy of both manual and

brain work, and an equal willingness to accept responsibility for deeds and words as is usually demanded and obtained from men ?

Among women who profit by the higher education now available to them, and among those who hold professional or public positions, it is unnecessary to urge the cultivation of these qualities. Among the majority of so-called ' domestic ' women, however, it seems to me that there has been a tendency, in the past, to be satisfied with a slip-shod standard of achievement in all branches of work, while it is by no means uncommon for women to disclaim the financial and moral responsibilities consequent upon their own actions.

An Englishwoman with the ordinary elementary or secondary education, if thrown upon her own resources to earn her living, experiences as a rule the greatest difficulty in doing so, because she knows no subject really well, and cannot depend on herself to produce reliable work. Her music and languages are fair ; but her mastery of them is not sufficient to enable her to teach others. The same is true of her manual accomplishments, and it is not unknown that even in the elementary work of copying legal and other documents women's work is so inaccurate that the employment has, in the end, to be given to men.

These faults are not, as a rule, so noticeable in the average man. From the beginning of his education it is understood that he will have to earn his own living, and it is obvious that this will be impossible unless he be reliable in action and his work accurate. Consequently, if his Greek translation or his algebra is faulty, he gets caned, and if he just misses easy catches on the cricket field, or fails to goal-keep effectually at football matches, the responsibilities of his position are made remarkably clear to him, and he either has to act up to them or he

is thrown out of the team ; and so he learns his lessons. The cause of this radical difference in the education of the sexes appears to lie in the fact that women, *quâ* women, have for generations been considered to be immune from the consequences of their own actions. If women are now, however, to have equal weight and influence with men, as they will very shortly, the time has come when this must be altered. I have, therefore, ventured to bring this aspect of the great woman question before your readers, in the hope that some means may be found for securing for our girls real equality of education. Though not all who may benefit from such education are destined to become either Cabinet Ministers or Poor Law Guardians, it is surely in the home, more than anywhere else, that such equality of treatment would make for peace, happiness, and efficiency, and for a healthier national life."

EMPIRE DAY

1916

On March 29th, 1916, on the motion of Viscount Milner, in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe on behalf of the Government acceded to Lord Milner's request that May 24th be recognised by the Government as a day worthy of respect. His words were :

" Would it be well to pay respect to May 24th ? That was a well-chosen date—the birthday of the great Queen during whose reign the conception of the Empire as we now understood it was developed and became recognised throughout the world. It appeared particularly appropriate that May 24th should continue to be honoured in the schools throughout the Empire and by such associations as the Boy Scouts, the various Boys' Brigades, and other organisations for the training of youth in a right

conception of citizenship and duty to their country. The Government agreed that the request of Lord Milner was a reasonable one, and they were glad to accede to it. They agreed that this recognition of Empire Day—without any question being raised of making it a public holiday or of further official recognition—would be a popular and appreciated expression of the established union of the Empire, brought home to us during recent months to an extent to which it never had been before. That union, they believed, would be well expressed by the symbolism involved in hoisting the flag."

On this occasion I wrote as follows to *The Times* on April 8th, 1916:

"All who have assisted in the promotion of the Empire Movement, and their number is legion, will rejoice that at length the British Government has discarded its Laodicean attitude towards 'Empire Day' and that yesterday in the House of Lords, through the lips of Lord Crewe, it decided to recognise May 24th by hoisting on that date the 'Union Jack' over Government buildings in the British islands. It is to be hoped that this official recognition will encourage the few educational authorities in Great Britain which still hesitate to observe the day in their schools to take courage, and fall into line with the great majority in the inculcation of patriotic feeling amongst the children committed to their care. Perhaps, also, some additional mayors and municipal authorities may see their way to take patriotic action in their cities and boroughs. We all desire to show gratitude to our gallant fellow-subjects from across the seas for the loyal and splendid manner in which they have associated their fortunes with that of the Empire, and have spared neither blood nor treasure to keep the old flag of Britain flying in the face of the common enemy. How can we

better express this gratitude than by a united and determined effort so to celebrate Empire Day on May 24th next that no one shall for one moment be in doubt that the hearts of the 400 millions of the King's subjects beat time in unison and in determination that the freest country in the world shall assuredly triumph over even the most organised and brutal of military despotisms."

EFFECT OF FOUR YEARS OF WAR ON THE BRITISH EMPIRE

1918

In March, 1918, I published the following on the effect which the Great War, in which we were engaged, would probably have over the future of the British Empire:

"The present war has within four years consolidated the British Empire, and has brought imperial knowledge and appreciation of imperial affairs to the minds of millions of its sons and daughters, in a manner which one hundred years of peace could not have accomplished. In 1914 few of us really grasped the meaning of Empire. We had a vague notion that a British Empire existed, but we had, as a nation, never seriously thought about it. Few of us at that time could have intelligently explained how we became possessed of this Empire, of what value its possession was to the Home Country, how these Overseas Dominions were governed, what was their population, what was the proportion of white to coloured peoples in each Colony or Dependency, and what were the products which each could furnish to the common imperial store in time of need?

The fight still continues—its true inwardness is even now only gradually being learnt by the masses of the

people at home and abroad, viz., that democracy is on its trial, that autocracy and military preparedness have thrown down the gauntlet and challenged democracy to a life-and-death struggle throughout the whole world —that the issue is not yet decided, and that if freedom and justice and humanity are not to disappear, and give place to oppression and wrong, and the triumphs of might over right, all freedom-loving peoples must join in the struggle, in the forefront of which the British Empire may justly claim the title of the world's protagonist, in the cause of civilisation, and of human liberty and happiness."

This was written in March 1918. A few more months and the great German host which had thought to rule the world was a crushed and beaten force suing for peace.

XII

HOMES AND HOSTELS

1892

BEGINNING OF HOSTELS FOR WOMEN

THE following letter written by my wife explains the genesis of the scheme for establishing cheap residential hostels for women which were afterwards turned into a company and proved so successful under the name of the Brabazon House Co., Limited, with residences in Moreton St. and the Vauxhall Bridge Road.

" To the Editor of the *Daily Telegraph.*

August 1892.

SIR,

My attention has been drawn to an article which appeared this month in the *Fortnightly Review* advocating that better accommodation than that to be found in cheerless lodgings should be provided for ladies who have to earn their living in London. Miss March Philipps, probably, is quite unaware of the fact that at all events in one house (there may be others) the scheme which she suggests has, to a certain extent, been already working, and with most happy results. The venture was made on a smaller scale than she proposes should be done, but as, from a money point of view, it is much easier to succeed with many lodgers than with a smaller number, it is all the more satisfactory that a house which accommodates about half the number suggested is now quite self-supporting.

A long time has elapsed since Lord Meath and I were at the opening of a home for girls which looked to the charitable public for means of support. On this occasion we met one—he has since gone to his rest—who was well known as a man of marked benevolence, and with him we discussed the advisability of starting an abode for workers who could afford to pay for themselves, but who were forced to live in solitary lodgings or else in homes suitable for those with smaller incomes. It was in a measure in consequence of this conversation that Brabazon House, situated in South Crescent, close to Tottenham Court Road, came to be established. Two houses were thrown into one, and were fitted up with cubicles provided to accommodate one person. The cost of living in one of them was about 4s. 3d. a week, inclusive of the use of pleasant sitting-rooms. Small private apartments were to be had from 6s. At first the experiment was disappointing. A housekeeper had been put in charge, but she did not succeed in filling the house, and her successor also failed to do so ; but all was changed after the arrival of our present lady superintendent. The dwelling is now full to overflowing. Rooms have had to be taken next door, and if we could add another house it is more than probable that it would be filled immediately. For two years there has been no bed unappropriated, and when the residents leave for a fortnight or three weeks' holiday their places are constantly taken by would-be lodgers who are glad to come even for this short period, in the hope of securing vacant cubicles later on. They who reside here are for the most part Civil Service clerks and telegraphists, but teachers, art students, trained nurses, church workers, etc., take advantage of it. Their earnings are, as a rule, under £100 per annum. The house is not only self-supporting, but as a profit is made both on the food and lodging, there is sufficient to yield

a small rate of interest ; not sufficient to tempt the speculator, though if the house were more commodious it would pay better. On the other hand, if the establishment were a very large one (ours provides for fifty-two residents) it would lose much of its home-like character. For our success we are, it will be noticed, greatly indebted to our lady superintendent. She may feel an honest pride in what she has been largely instrumental in accomplishing. Miss Philipps surmises that an ' exceptional woman ' is needed to conduct such an establishment, and she is right. It needs one gifted with business capacity, and a sympathetic nature. She should be the counsellor of the young and inexperienced, and a friend to all. It is because the lady who has been placed at the head of Brabazon House has acted most unselfishly —often even giving up long hours of much-needed rest in order to be of service to some temporarily invalided resident—that she has won the regard of those with whom she comes in contact. It is a comparatively easy task for those accustomed to make such calculations to put down upon paper what the outgoings and incomings of such an establishment should be, but it requires heart as well as head to make such an abode a happy one. A gentlewoman in the true sense of the word should conduct its affairs, and not one whose only forte is household management. I am less sanguine than Miss Phillips in imagining that houses started by the ' professional speculator ' would be satisfactory, but the experience gained in Brabazon House is an encouraging one, and, if I mistake not, sufficient to prove that, under right management, such houses are not only needed, but that they can, as the writer of the article anticipates, be placed on a proper commercial footing.

M. J. MEATH."

BRABAZON HOUSE, SANDYMOUNT, DUBLIN

On September the 18th, 1902, Jeanie opened Brabazon House for Aged Ladies, at Gilford Road, Sandymount, Dublin, which by a gift of £2000 to the Association for the Relief of Distressed Protestants, she had enabled this organisation to build. In opening the Home she said she had been interested in Workhouses for many years, and especially in the fate of Workhouse girls—a very neglected class. These girls were better looked after in England, but nothing was done for them in Ireland. She had proposed that two houses should be opened side by side for Workhouse girls. The first for Roman Catholic girls, who, she need not observe, were in the majority in this country (Ireland). They were to have a Matron of their own, and to have an entirely separate establishment. The other house was to be devoted to Protestants. The only time when the Roman Catholic and Protestant girls were to be united was during the hours of work in running a restaurant, and they had a splendid offer made to them for training at a nominal cost by an excellent institution in Dublin. She was sorry to say they were so divided in Ireland that the Protestants and Roman Catholics could not be got to work together, and the whole scheme failed. In consequence of the failure of this scheme, she was able to divert some of the money towards the building of the Sandymount Home, which had proved a great success, and a boon to several ladies whose means would not have permitted them to live in ordinary lodgings.

XIII

IRISH COTTIERS

1881

IN 1881, when I was Lord Brabazon, a letter appeared from me on the "Cottier Tenants in Ireland" in which I said:

"All who have at heart the welfare of the small Irish cottier, the class for which the Irish Land Bill has been ostensibly drawn up, will rejoice that Lord Waveney proposes to ask the Government to-day in the House of Lords whether they intend to introduce any measure this session to secure comfortable dwellings with sufficient allotment of garden ground, for cottier tenants in Ireland. Amidst the criticisms to which the Irish Land Bill has been exposed, slight comment has been made upon that which appears to many its weakest point, namely, that the Irish cottier interest has been practically neglected in the Bill, and that, whilst the Irish tenant has been amply protected against the injustice or rapacity of his landlord, he has been left unprotected against himself. All who have practical knowledge of the question agree that the poverty and wretchedness which is to be found in parts of Ireland is owing to the smallness of the farms and the impossibility of human beings existing on them in comfort and decency; whilst as long as farms are small it is impossible for landlords to build decent habitations with any chance of obtaining a return for their money. Small farms, therefore, mean human pig-styes and chronic

starvation. The mass of Irish tenants in the south and west of Ireland are the possessors of holdings under 15 acres in extent, and may, therefore, be called cottiers. Many own farms of five, four, three, two, and even of one acre. I myself have a tenant holding the latter amount of land. Now, these men are not labourers but cottiers, working their own land. It will be self-evident, even if those men were willing to supplement the small profit which they make out of their farms by the wages of a day labourer (as all are more or less in the same position, and as farmers with capital enough to employ labour are few and far between, whilst the resident gentleman, always a *rara avis* in these parts, is, under the influence of agitation, rapidly becoming extinct), that the small cottiers must depend for their livelihood on the produce of the few acres they own, unless they happen to be on the sea coast, and can command a sale for any fish which, with their wretched apparatus, they may manage to catch. These men almost invariably marry early, and have large families, and having no opening for their energies, their one idea is to subdivide the farms on the death of the head of the family or on the occasion of a marriage. This tendency to subdivision has been restrained and kept within certain limits by those estate rules which have been held up to so much odium. But after the passing of this Bill landlords will be loth to insist upon their rights, and, rather than get into litigation with their tenants, will probably wink at subdivision. What protection, then, does this Bill contain which shall defend the tenant against his own insane desire for subdivision below the point upon which he and his family can live in comfort ? None whatever. The landlord, no doubt, will have the nominal right to prevent it ; but will he use it ? Or, if the tenant buys the land, cannot he do what he likes with his own ? But it may be said, ' That is just the point, the owner

may do what he likes with his own, and we cannot interfere with the rights of property.' That argument might have been used with force before the introduction of this Bill. Now it is obsolete. Unless some clause is inserted in the Bill which shall prevent in future the subdivision of farms below the point upon which a frugal man can exist, little will have been done to benefit the very class which it was intended to benefit. In Germany 40 acres is considered the minimum amount of land upon which a man can live. No doubt the extent necessary to the subsistence of a family varies with the richness of the land. We cannot measure the requirements of a Galway or Kerry farmer with those of a Meath or Kildare man. Twenty acres, or even fifteen might suffice in the one case, whilst in the other the same amount might mean simply starvation. Still some approximate average might easily be struck. Below this amount of acreage it should in future be illegal to subdivide. Every encouragement should be given to the consolidation of farms under that extent, and to the emigration of families subject to State control. By this means a class of well-to-do farmers would by degrees be created. The wretched cottier population, always on the verge of starvation, instruments in the hands of agitators, would disappear, whilst larger farms would make it possible for landlords, or for tenants themselves, to build respectable homesteads in lieu of the wretched hovels which now disgrace the south-west of Ireland."

XIV

LADS' DRILL ASSOCIATION AND MILITARY TRAINING

1897

"ARMS AND THE BOY"

By Lord Meath

IN 1897 I wrote: "The roughest and most undisciplined town arabs, who are quite impervious to all other influences, will voluntarily place themselves under the strictest control, if only they be supplied with a uniform cap, a stick in place of a rifle, and be ordered about by a military-looking man in a sufficiently peremptory tone of voice. This is a remarkable psychical phenomenon, which may be said to have been discovered by the founders of the 'Boys' Brigade' at Glasgow, and was first turned by them to a useful moral purpose. Why should it not also be utilised for a useful national purpose? In order to effect this, I should like to see the Government invite lads to place themselves voluntarily under military discipline, from the age of eleven until the completion of their seventeenth year, encouraging them to do so by offering to every lad a grant of 2s. 6d. per annum on his attaining his eleventh year, and of 5s. on his attaining his fifteenth year, if such lad was reported by the inspecting officer of volunteers of the district to be 'efficient' in drill, and if of fifteen years of age, to have attained also to a fair proficiency

in rifle shooting, such grants to be given, as in the case of the volunteers, to the corps to which the lad belongs, and which should not consist of less than fifty 'efficients.' These companies or battalions should not necessarily be attached to the volunteer force, and it should not be imperative for the members to be provided with complete uniform. The only essential should be the possession of a uniform cap. It is the expense of providing the uniform which hinders a large number of lads from joining cadet corps and Boys' Brigades, and which prevents them from increasing largely in numbers. The annual expense to the State of the above proposal would be comparatively small. Supposing 200,000 lads were enrolled as 'efficients' under the above conditions, say 50,000 lads were enrolled at 5s. and 150,000 at 2s. 6d., the cost to the country would only be £31,250, or £50,000 if the entire 200,000 were fifteen years of age and over. It is not likely that more than 200,000 would become 'efficient,' and if they did, consider what an addition would ensue to the military strength of the country! In order to ensure efficiency, and the presence during drill of an officer who understood his duties, it might be found necessary to pay some small sum such as £5 a year to Captains of companies, and £10 a year to Colonels of battalions. Colonels should only receive payment if their battalions numbered 500 or over, and reached a certain standard of efficiency; and Captains, if they held a P.S. Certificate, or had recently left the regular Army, and commanded companies of not less than one hundred lads which drilled to the satisfaction of the inspector. The annual cost of thus officering 200,000 boys could not amount to more than £10,000 for Captains, and of £4000 for Colonels, but it would probably be found that only about half this sum, or £7000 a year, would be required, so that about £40,000 a year would

be the entire cost the country would have to pay for training this large number of lads to the practical use of arms."

1905

NOTE BY LORD MEATH ON LADS' DRILL ASSOCIATIONS AND MILITARY TRAINING

As Chairman of the "Lads' Drill Association," in 1905, I urged my countrymen to realise that the British Empire is no longer a sea-girt State, which can trust for its defence exclusively to an all-powerful Navy, but that it now possesses the most extensive land frontiers of any Power in the world. "Consider alone," I said, "the extent of land frontier separating the United States of America from Canada, and the length of that which separates India and Burma from Persia, Afghanistan, Russia, China, France, and Spain, as well as from several semi or non-civilised peoples and tribes, acting as buffer-States.

Lord Kitchener has recently been organising the Indian Army with a view to its being able to take the field at a moment's notice, and he hopes at the first alarm of war to have at his command some 135,000 British and Indian troops.

In the late Boer War, after great exertions, and having almost exhausted the sources from which a voluntary Army can be supplied, we were able to place some 230,000 men in South Africa. Russia proposes, within a very short time, to have 500,000 men at Mukden, to be ultimately increased to 900,000. How do these figures compare with those we have just cited? Supposing, which is not impossible, that we found ourselves at war with Russia, France, and Germany, which combined Powers could bring into the field some seven million to eleven million trained fighting men, and could transport

them to the frontiers of India almost without changing railway carriages, of what use in opposing these overwhelming masses would be the powerful Fleet in which we justly place so much confidence? It may be said that India possesses a population of 300 millions, and that she could well afford, with such numbers, to raise an army capable of hurling back even the gigantic forces I have mentioned. It may be so. But let us remember that history plainly shows that no Empire has yet been able to maintain itself for any considerable time the dominant race of which has shirked the duties of military service, and has trusted its fortunes either to mercenaries, or to fellow-subjects of different blood. The 'Lads' Drill Association' does not propose that the British Empire should subject itself to the burdens of conscription, but supported by the almost unanimous voice of military experts, and of those who have turned their attention to the subject, it does endeavour to point out the absolute necessity, and to emphasize the importance if the Empire is to be maintained, of training to arms during the educative portion of their lives the entire male youth of the British race, confident that, in time of real danger, the great mass would voluntarily offer their services to the State.

This view has recently been strongly supported in the *Nineteenth Century and After* by two articles which appeared in the January and February numbers of this year, from the pens of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts and of Major-General Lord Methuen.

Never again, as in the Boer War, ought we to send untrained or half-trained men to the front, or have to train them when fighting has once begun. If, after serious consideration, the majority of Britons are satisfied that the military power of the Empire is sufficient for its needs, well, then the minority must bow to their decision; but

should it be otherwise, and should a majority of Britons believe, as does the writer, that an unarmed nation must necessarily be at a disadvantage, either in peace or war, when confronted by nations of which all the able-bodied citizens are trained to arms, then the sooner this majority makes its opinion known and felt, and insists on the adoption by the Imperial Government of some form of universal service, or on the compulsory training to arms of all British lads between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, the better for the nation and for the future of the British Empire."

THE MILITARY TRAINING OF YOUNG MEN AND LADS IN 1906

In a debate in the Lords which took place in July, 1906, on the subject of the proposed reduction of the Army, in which Field-Marshal Earl Roberts spoke, I said: "As I am not a professional soldier and have only served His Majesty for several years as an officer in the auxiliary forces, I should not have ventured to intrude upon your Lordships upon such a subject as this, were it not that for many years—indeed since before the Boer War—I have taken a leading and active part in a movement which is known to many of your Lordships—that is the movement for the training in military exercises, and in the use of the rifle, of all British lads. I desire to make my humble, but most earnest, protest against a reduction in our military forces at a moment when there is unrest in Egypt and danger of trouble in South Africa. It appears to me that this is not a time in which we can afford to lose a single trained man. If the nation had been trained in the past, as I hope it will be in the future, perhaps it might be possible to reduce the Regular Army,

although I much doubt it. But that has not been done, and as far as I can perceive, H.M.'s Government do not intend at present, at all events, to follow the lines which, I will not say in my opinion, because my opinion is worth nothing, but the lines which have met with the approval of the greatest military genius this world has produced since the days of Napoleon. For years I have ventured to appeal to the country everywhere to put our forces upon the real and only solid basis which, short of conscription, would ensure national safety, namely, the training of our youth in military matters during the educative period of their lives. As I say, this has met with the approval, not only of the eminent Field-Marshal who has just addressed you, but I may say, and I defy contradiction, that it has met with the approval of almost all the most eminent men of this country. Not only that, but it has met with the approval of more than one Royal Commission and more than one Departmental Committee. The Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, of 1904, spoke most emphatically in regard to, not only the physical advantages which such a system would confer, but also as to the military result which would be attained. We cannot quote from the Report of the Majority, but the Report of a very influential minority of the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa in 1904 (in which Sir George Taubman-Goldie, Lord Esher, and other eminent members, expressed their opinions) most emphatically supports our view of the necessity of training our lads in military exercises. I think I may say also that this principle has quite recently —so recently as last Saturday—met with a certain amount of approval at the hands of the Secretary of State for War in a speech which he made at Newlands Corner. What did Mr Haldane say upon that occasion? He said, 'They,' I presume he meant H.M.'s Government,

'They wanted the people to be willing to take upon themselves their share of the burden of national defence.' My Lords, that is what the 'Lads' Drill Association' and the 'National Service League' have been hammering away at for years and years. Now we have the Secretary of State for War making that statement, and why he does not come and join us after such a declaration, I do not know. He said, 'They wanted the people to be willing to take upon themselves their share of the burden of national defence.' Is he going to support those words by any action? That is what we want to know. He said also: 'He hoped that the time would come when we should give up the use of the expression "Auxiliary Forces" altogether, and speak of the National Army.' Well, my Lords, that is exactly what we desire. What we want is that we should have a National Army, and if only Mr Haldane will be true to his words, this country will be placed out of danger. He further said: 'They could have in those rifle clubs, as they saw that day' (he was addressing a rifle club in Surrey) 'a most powerful element in the defence of these islands, if only people would recognise that with the rifle clubs, just as much as with the rest of the forces, they needed organisation.' This, again, is what those two Associations which I have mentioned have been hammering away to obtain, and I cannot conceive that we could have a better advocate than Mr Haldane. These are admirable words, but we do not want only words. We have heard upon other subjects words, words, words from His Majesty's Government and not always have these words been carried into action. I hope that in this instance, at all events, His Majesty's Government will adhere to their words, and that we may look to them for assistance towards achieving this desirable end, an end which Mr Haldane himself has approved. The Secretary of State for War added also

that ' they should not leave things to chance, but should prepare themselves and put themselves in such a position, that the national defence would be in a stronger situation than it had been for a good many years past. He (Mr Haldane) trusted that they were at the beginning of things, and in the defence organised by less-trained rifle corps, who still represented the spirit of the people—(and the spirit of the people with organisation to a definite end) it seemed to him that they had the lines upon which they would solve the national problem.' Now, if Mr Haldane will only just do that, the national problem will be solved. These are the lines upon which the ' Lads' Drill Association ' and, as I understand it, the ' National Service League,' have been acting for years. Will Mr Haldane give his assistance, and actually do in acts what he has promised in words ? He has an example before him. When I brought this plan before your Lordships' House on former occasions, I was always told that it was a new idea, and when it was no longer possible to say that it was a new idea, I was told that the cost would be so great that it was perfectly impossible for such a country as this to stand it. But Mr Haldane has an example before him in all the British Colonies—every one of them—but more especially in New Zealand. What has the State of New Zealand done in regard to the training of its lads ? The people of New Zealand only recognised the necessity for the training of their lads in the year 1902. In that year they were able to have some 4000 trained cadets. Now, in the opinion of that eminent statesman whom we have recently lost—the late Mr Seddon, who was a firm believer in this idea—those 4000 cadets have become 14,000, all trained. These 14,000 represent 75 per cent of the available lads. I should like your Lordships to remember that no compulsion as regards military training is insisted upon by

the New Zealand Government. But now comes the point —and I hope the noble Earl, the Under-Secretary of State for War, will mark this—there is no compulsion as regards military training, but there are facilities. That is the point. The New Zealand Government give facilities. What are those facilities ? First of all, I should say that there is compulsion as far as physical and what they call disciplinary training is concerned. Disciplinary training covers a good deal, I may say. They do not call it military although there is a good deal of military training in it. But there is no compulsion as regards military training and rifle shooting. The New Zealand Act says that in public schools provision shall be made for the instruction in military drill of all boys ; that means that whereas physical drill is compulsory, the Legislature have wisely made military drill purely voluntary, thus avoiding even the faintest suggestion of that word which the noble Earl, the Under-Secretary of State for War, seems so fond of—namely conscription. May I venture strongly to recommend this system to the notice of the Secretary of State for War, through the Under-Secretary who sits in this House ? I would like to point out that the way they have obtained those 14,000 lads is as follows. When twelve boys in any school, with the consent of their parents and of the headmaster, desire to be enrolled as cadets, application is made to the Education Department, and not to the War Office. That is a most important point, because we do not want our lads to have anything to say to the Military Office. Let them be under the Education Department, which means that they will be taught by their own schoolmasters and in their own schools, and they will have nothing to say to the Military Department at all. Then the facilities that the Government give are as follows : they give training ; that is to say, drill and shooting ; they give a grant of 2s. 6d. per boy per annum ;

they give dummy rifles ; they also give one rifle per ten boys and sixty cartridges. They give a grant of 3s. 6d. per week for any boy who goes into Camp, and they give a badge for any boy who has learnt Army signalling. What is the cost of all this ? It is trifling. For the first year the cost is about 10s. per boy, and for other years 3s. 6d. If New Zealand can produce 14,000 trained lads, it is simply a matter of calculation by rule of three to make out that we ought to be able to produce about 600,000. If the whole of our lads or a great proportion of them were thus trained to arms, we should be exempt from these undignified and dangerous changes of policy that bring the Empire into contempt, endanger the State, and encourage our enemies to attack us."

THE MILITARY TRAINING OF YOUNG MEN AND LADS IN 1907

In July 1907 the House of Lords supported, by a majority of ninety-nine, an Amendment of mine to a Government Bill, by which the youth of the country would have been trained to arms out of State funds. Nine days later the Government became alarmed and obtained a reversal of this decision. On the latter occasion, the 18th July, I said : " Unless their Lordships desired to stultify themselves, they ought to adhere to the decision at which they had arrived in Committee, and which I was perfectly confident was the right decision. When Mr Haldane originally introduced his Bill, he asserted that he wanted the youth of the nation to undergo training so that they could keep the national reservoir of men trained to arms always full. The Secretary of State said the Government desired to raise the Cadet Corps into a more important position. By so doing

(Mr Haldane added) national panic would be averted, and the people would be given a sense of security which they had not hitherto enjoyed. That was what all their Lordships desired. Mr Haldane went on to say that from every point of view, Cadet Corps are to be encouraged in the interest of the nation. But now the Government asked their Lordships to reverse all this, and told them that Cadet Corps would not increase the fighting power of the nation, because they were composed of boys. Why did Mr Haldane and the Government recede from their original position ? Was it because a deputation of men of influence, but not representative of large numbers, had waited on the Right Honourable Gentleman, and had frightened him with the bogey of encouraging militarism, which fear Mr Haldane eight days ago had described as imaginary ? This was not the first time that Ministers had been heard to say one thing one day and the exact opposite the next. It was to be hoped that their Lordships would not stultify themselves by reversing a decision made so recently as nine days ago, by so large a majority as ninety-nine. Let them not forget the lesson of the South African War, when thousands of lives were sacrificed, by sending out men who could neither ride nor shoot. Let them do what they could to avoid such a lamentable result again, by training the boys in time. It was difficult to understand why a Government with such a large majority in the Commons need be so alarmed by the opposition of a noisy but small section of the people. Until we trained our nation to arms, we could rest assured that we should ever be subject to continual panics which brought discredit on the country. However powerful might be our Fleet, and however well-trained our sailors, no one could say that some horrible chance might not overtake this land, and for a short period leave us unprepared and open to invasion. It was a most

extraordinary fact that the people who were most opposed to a Citizen Army in this country, were usually those whose political feelings leaned towards radicalism and democracy. I could understand the democrat being opposed to a standing Regular Army such as we had, but not to a Citizen Army such as was advocated by the recent vote in their Lordships' House. The true democrat in all other countries was in favour of a Citizen Army. Our Colonies had led the way, and there was not a single British self-governing Colony, except perhaps some new ones in South Africa, which did not train their boys to arms whilst at school, and immediately afterwards. Switzerland had for ages possessed a Citizen Army. Yet, forsooth, the democracy of this country would appear to say, 'Give us a hired Army, but for goodness sake do not give us a Citizen Army.' It was the irony of fate, almost, to think that it should be left to their Lordships' House to defend what ought to be defended by every democrat who was true to his colours. Let some really practical steps be taken towards making this country safe by the universal military training—not conscription —of all British subjects."

The Government, however, were deaf to all appeals, and by bringing up their full forces, reversed the decision of the House made only nine days previously—hence when the Great World War overtook the nation on August 4th, 1914, thousands of patriotic lads were rushed out to their deaths, unprepared for war and untrained to arms, and the same tragedy will in all probability again occur on the occasion of the next war.

GERMANY AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

1909

I was so persuaded in 1909 that Germany was plotting to overthrow the British Empire, which she believed to be decadent, that before the end of the year I made another attempt to warn my country-people of the danger which threatened them, and on the 27th December, I wrote from San Remo as follows to the *Daily Mail*:

"May I be permitted through your columns, to express to Mr Robert Blatchford my humble appreciation of his patriotic efforts to arouse his countrymen to a sense of the imminent danger in which they are placing their country, through their own slackness, apathy, and love of ease? They have been warned over and over again by men whose knowledge and character should command their respect; but apparently they prefer to ignore the danger and to trust to luck rather than shake themselves free from the bonds of idleness, and of individualistic selfishness, by which, alas! so many would appear to be enthralled. Mr Blatchford is correct when he says that there is no hostility towards Great Britain on the part of the German people, any more than there exists hostility towards Germany on the part of the British. But, nevertheless, there is a vague feeling in Germany that Great Britain is a hindrance to the development of German interests, that the British people have fallen from the high standard of virility of their ancestors, and that this obstacle to the full expansion of the German Empire is not invulnerable as it was once considered to be. I believe the German people are misled by their desires. The Lion of England may be asleep, but he is still vigorous—perhaps, when fully awakened, he may

prove himself, at the cost of those rash enough to awaken him, to be at least as vigorous as he was in the days when he showed himself to be more than a match for the other denizens of the forest. But there is no time to be lost. He must stir himself, stretch his muscles, and look well to his claws. Let our watchwords be, 'Duty and Discipline,' and let us see that the meanings of these words are rightly understood in the nursery and in the schoolroom. If we showed ourselves to be men, and those who look on us with envious eyes saw that we were determined to maintain our own national position in the world, cost what it might, this suicidal competition would cease. It is because the Germans think they see signs of hesitation, of divided counsels, or lack of determination in the national attitude towards their aspirations, that they are encouraged to continue the contest for supremacy. We have the game in our own hands. We have only to exert ourselves, to awake out of sleep, to make the most of ourselves, and of our opportunities, to remember that we can no longer live on the prestige won for us by hard-working ancestors, but must take life seriously, in view of the disciplined and scientific competition we have to meet; and I am persuaded that our rivals would soon recognise the hopelessness of the task they have set before themselves, and would cease to strive, at all events, for sea supremacy. Should they be foolish enough to do so, the problem would quickly be solved. I am not writing without knowledge. I know the Germans well. I entertain the very highest respect for them. I had the privilege of being partly educated in Germany. I spent nearly four years as a young diplomatist in their midst. Recently I was honoured by an invitation to join a peace deputation from Great Britain to Germany. The hospitality and kindness shown the deputation while in that country by all classes, from the Emperor downwards, will never

be forgotten by me. But I came away persuaded that, while no man of sense in either Germany or Great Britain outside a certain class, wished for war, the force of circumstances and of economic conditions was driving the two peoples rapidly into a position of the greatest danger, and that a lasting peace could only be secured by a moral reformation and awakening on the part of the British people, and a firm determination to make their national position so secure that no nation in its senses would ever dream of challenging their sea supremacy."

I need hardly say that if Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, with all his prestige after the Boer War, was unable to arouse the British nation to a sense of their danger, I, on this occasion, as well as on many others, made little or no impression on their deaf ears.

NOTE BY LORD MEATH ON THE DUTY OF THE CITIZEN TO THE STATE IN RESPECT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

1910

I was invited in 1910 to speak on " The duty of the Citizen to the State in respect of National Defence." On this occasion I said : " Did one not know that there are some who hold, or profess to hold, that a citizen owes no obligation to the State in the matter of national defence, the duty would appear to be so obvious that it would seem a waste of time to discuss the principle. But in view of opinions which question the existence of any duty on the part of the citizen to give personal service in defence of the State, it is well that the subject should be considered from an ethical point of view. There are six classes of objectors to the doctrine that it is the duty

of the citizen to give personal service in defence of the State :

1. Those who consider that the bearing of arms is contrary to the principles of the Christian religion, or of the brotherhood of men.

2. Those who believe that money payment is a fair equivalent for personal service.

3. Those who accept the doctrine of personal service in the last resort.

4. Those who believe that the State is not worthy of preservation.

5. Those who, for selfish reasons, object to any sacrifice on the part of themselves towards the State.

6. Those who have never given any serious thought to the matter, and who, not desiring to be called on for any personal sacrifice, are naturally prone to accept as valid the arguments of those who deny the existence of any duty on behalf of the citizen toward the State.

Let us analyse in succession the objections of each of the above.

1. Take the first class. Where in the New Testament do we find any encouragement of the doctrine that the citizen owes no duty to the State in the matter of national defence ? Our Saviour lived upon the earth at a time when military oppression was, perhaps, at its height. He belonged to a race that had been trampled under foot by the Roman legions. The government of the world was in the hands of irresponsible tyrants and warriors ; and cruelties, tortures, and violences, perpetrated by trained instruments of oppression, were common. Yet we may search the Scriptures through, and find no word which can be construed into condemnation of the man who bears arms whether in defence of his country

or in the name of recognised authority. It is true that Our Saviour would not permit His followers to draw the sword on His own behalf, even under the most trying circumstances ; but this incident only adds force to the Divine injunction, ' Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.' He Who was supreme over all temporal powers, even when His own life was at stake, would not permit His followers to oppose by force those who came armed with the requisite authority. Had Christ desired to condemn the bearing of arms, is it not natural to presume that He would have availed Himself of the opportunity of a conversation with a Roman Centurion, to enphasize His disapproval of his profession ? But He did nothing of the kind, although the Centurion gave Him every opportunity, by explaining that he was a man under authority, having soldiers under him. The Saviour's only words were those of approval of the Centurion, ' Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.' Again, are we not justified in presuming that John the Baptist was inspired with the spirit of Christ, when the soldiers asked him, ' What shall we do ? ' Here would have been the opportunity to say, ' Leave your profession, which is contrary to the spirit of Christ.' But all he said was, ' Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely and be content with your wages,' or, in other words, Carry the Christian spirit into your work, and be subordinate to the powers that be. Whether the bearing of arms in the defence of the State is contrary to the spirit of the brotherhood of man, as understood by the followers of Socialism, is a matter which must be left to be argued by Socialists ; but for the benefit of any doubtful follower of this political creed, I would point out that the majority of its leaders appear to favour the contention that the Socialist State, when once established, would be justified in

demanding the armed services of the citizens, in its defence against outside aggressors, and against internal revolt.

2. Let us now consider the position of the objectors to personal service in defence of their country. These men acknowledge that the citizen owes a duty to the State in the matter of defence, but assert that the duty is one which can be met through a money payment, if military service for some reason or another is inconvenient or distasteful to him. As long as nations were content with small mercenary or selected armies, no injury was done to the State by a man who preferred to pay another to run, on his behalf, the risk of death or injury, though the spirit which prompted such action can hardly commend itself to the man of honour and of public spirit. But the instant a single nation, in order to obtain overwhelming numbers, demanded compulsory service in the field of all its able-bodied male citizens, it became imperative on the other nations to do likewise, or run the risk of military and naval annihilation through force of numbers. The position of the able-bodied male citizens became thereby entirely altered. No money payment could compensate the State for loss of men, and the evident duty of all loyal citizens under these circumstances is surely to take, in time of need, a personal part in the defence of their country. In order to do this effectually, they must train in time of peace, for it is too late to begin to do this after war has commenced. Military training seems to me, therefore, to be incumbent upon every able-bodied young man who desires to perform his duty toward the State. The only men from whom payment in lieu of service should be accepted by the State are those who are physically unable to bear the strain of war, or are the sole breadwinners of the family. *Bona fide* conscientious objectors to military service

could in all fairness be compulsorily required to perform personal services to the State of a civil nature, in tending and transporting the wounded, in burying the dead, in the practical sanitation of camps, and in the transport of food and of camp equipment.

3. We now come to class 3. Those who accept the doctrine of personal service in the last resort, but question its necessity under present circumstances. The objections to personal service on the part of these men will be found, on analysis, to be due to want of thought, or to ignorance of the present foreign military and naval forces with which this Empire is confronted. A careful study of the military and naval forces of the world cannot fail to show the fallacy which underlies the doctrine that the British Empire can maintain its control over one-fifth of the earth's surface, and over one-fifth of the earth's population, without a Navy capable of safeguarding, in time of war, free sea communication between the disjointed portions of the Empire, situated in all five continents of the earth, and without military forces at least equal in numbers to those raised through universal service by, say, the least formidable of its first-class rivals. It can hardly be contended that the present naval and military forces of the Empire, raised by voluntary service, are sufficiently numerous to be able to meet, with any reasonable prospect of success, the attack of, say, a combination of forces like those which Great Britain had to encounter during the Napoleonic struggle.

4. With regard to classes 4, 5, and 6. Those who, for one reason or another, think the Empire is not worth preserving, or have never given a thought to the matter, I would ask seriously to consider whether there is any other State in the world in which personal freedom and liberty are more worthy of support than in the British

Empire? I would ask them to reflect whether they believe that a disastrous war which separated Great Britain from her sister nations, and robbed her of her dependencies, would leave them and the mother country exactly as it found them? Is not France an example to the contrary? Is she not still burdened with a public debt nearly double our own (£1,200,000,000 as compared with £702,689,897) the result of a gigantic indemnity paid to the conquerors after a disastrous war? Bismarck publicly declared that, had he realised the wealth of France, he would have insisted on a very much larger indemnity when he had her at his mercy. Britons may rest assured that if ever they find themselves in a similar position to that of France in 1870, they will not be permitted to purchase their freedom from a foreign yoke except after payment of a much heavier ransom, the annual interest on which will cripple not only the nation but every man and woman in the country for many years. Individuals greatly err who imagine that no personal punishment will overtake those who by treachery or neglect of duty bring about a national catastrophe of that description. The necessity for universal military training becomes annually more and more insistent. As long as the responsible statesmen of this country belonging to both parties were prepared to maintain what was called the two-power standard, and were ready to build two men-of-war for each one laid down by the two most powerful naval states, after Great Britain, of the world, British supremacy at sea might reasonably be considered to be assured, and it became possible to ignore in matters of defence, though not of offence, the military weakness of the Empire. But now that, at all events, one party in the State has openly thrown over this doctrine, and is content that the British Navy, with its far-flung naval responsibilities, shall in

three years' time (1913) only possess twenty-five Dreadnoughts to Germany's twenty-one, it becomes a matter of vital importance that the people of these islands should be trained to arms in such numbers, and with such efficiency, that no nation may hope to be able to invade these shores with any chance of success. For let it never be forgotten that British sea supremacy for the people of these islands, as well as for her people overseas, is a matter not of honour or glory, or of national pride, but of the most vital importance. To Britons at home sea supremacy is a matter literally of life or death. Within three months of an effective blockade we should be called on to choose between death by starvation or surrender at discretion to the victorious enemy. To the oversea British it would mean piecemeal conquest and annexation, or a crushing indemnity. If disaster overtake the Empire, it will not be for lack of warning. Our greatest and most successful soldier has devoted the evening of his life, when he might reasonably expect to rest from his labours, to arousing his fellow-countrymen to a sense of their danger, and I would earnestly appeal to all present to support Lord Roberts in his patriotic work, by joining the National Service League, a League formed to try and bring home to the minds of our fellow-citizens the danger of our present unpreparedness, and the urgent need that our young men should be efficiently trained to carry out the first duty of citizenship, that of defending their country. And now the most distinguished of American naval writers, Admiral Mahan, has shown us in plain terms, and with a force of argument which must compel conviction, the nature of the naval peril with which these islands are threatened. He shows how, through the continuous and systematic increase of the German naval forces, Great Britain has been forced to concentrate her ships of war in the North Sea and Atlantic

Ocean, and has been compelled practically to abandon the Mediterranean, where we have only six Dreadnoughts, as compared with fourteen in 1903, in the face of the twelve Dreadnoughts maintained by Austria and Italy, the allies of Germany. Speaking of the British Government and people, Admiral Mahan says, 'The clear reluctance to acquiesce in present naval requirements is ominous of a day when the Mediterranean may pass out of the sphere of British influence. This will symbolise, if it does not accompany, the passing of the Empire; for a hostile force in the Mediterranean controls not only an interior line—as compared with the Cape route—but an interior position, from which it is operative against the Atlantic as well as the East. It is difficult to overstate the effect of this upon the solidarity of the Empire, for the Mediterranean is one of the great central positions of the maritime world. A weakened Mediterranean force is the symptom that neither as principal, nor as ally, may Great Britain be able to play the part, as hitherto assumed by her, in the great drama of which the awakening of the East is the present act; while among the *dramatis personæ* are Egypt, India, Australia, and New Zealand.' To my mind the danger to the Empire is not from without, so much as from within. If a war with all its horrors (which God forbid) should ever sweep its blood-stained trail across these peaceful islands which for over eight hundred years have never been pressed by the heel of the conqueror, it will be because the British race has lost its virile qualities, because softness and sentimentality, fear of pain and suffering, and lack of discipline, the offspring of wealth and luxury, have blinded their eyes, and deafened their ears, to the signs and sounds of impending danger, and because they will have lost the spirit which made their ancestors the salt of the earth. If such a despicable condition should ever overtake the British

people, it would be well for Christianity and the world that the vast Empire which now owes allegiance to King George the Fifth should slip from their feeble and harmful grasp, for character would be lacking, and they would be utterly unfitted to rule with power and righteousness, in the fear and love of God. Without the possession of character, no people can be fit to rule. Nations and Empires rise and fall as the God of Nations wills, but let us remember that their rise or fall is not a sudden or capricious event, but follows closely the rise or fall of the mercury in the barometer of national character. The rise or fall of the mercury in this barometer is, humanly speaking, entirely under the control of the people themselves. It is yet in their power to arrest its fall, but there is no time to be lost. If within the next few years the British people awaken to the meaning of the words Responsibility, Duty, Sympathy, and Self-sacrifice, all may yet be well; but if not, the end is inevitable, and the end will have been deserved."

MILITARY TRAINING

August 28, 1914

The *Standard* made an appeal for recruits to join the Army and I supported it on the 28th August, 1914, in the following words:

"The *Standard* is right. We must all recruit. The whole manhood of the country is needed to crush the enormous hosts which threaten the liberties of Europe. England, the birthplace of freedom, must not be backward in such a contest. In this gigantic struggle of liberty versus militarism and absolutism, it is the obvious duty of every free, healthy young Briton, and of every man

who can be spared from his business at home, to offer himself for foreign service.

Able-bodied Britons who cannot enlist for foreign service or the Territorials should join some force of special constables.

All amusements of a useless character as regards national defence should be vigorously boycotted.

Physical fitness can be obtained, in the case of men who are obliged to stay at home, by learning military exercises, shooting, and marching.

Women, even if at present they see no opening for their services, should make themselves efficient nurses, cooks, signallers, motor-car drivers, aviators, despatch riders, etc., in case their services may later on be needed.

Both men and women who cannot do any of the above can act as recruiters. I know of one lady who has added hundreds of soldiers and sailors to His Majesty's forces, who has swept her neighbourhood of all loafers and 'public house supports,' and has earned from His Majesty's Government the right to fly the recruiting-sergeant's colours. What one has done others can do.

All girls and women should use their influence—and it is mighty—in urging young men to offer their services to the State, and show plainly by their demeanour that they disapprove of the actions of those who shirk their obvious national duty in the tremendous struggle which has been forced upon us in defence of the principles of justice, liberty, and freedom, and the maintenance of our very existence as a nation."

BIRMINGHAM SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' CLUB

1915

I was invited in 1915 by the Bishop of Birmingham, and the Committee of the "Sailors' and Soldiers' Club" in Birmingham, to open their new premises in Newton Street.

In declaring the Club open, I said "the premises were being provided for the men who, during the past year, had been enabling us to meet there that day. They had been protecting the honour of our women, our homes and ourselves, and they had been fighting for perhaps the grandest cause that men could fight for—freedom, liberty, justice, and all that made life worth living. We could not pay too high a tribute to our soldiers and sailors. Three millions of men had come forward voluntarily, to risk their lives for us, and for the country, and we could never do enough for them. In the history of the world, there had never been such a thing as three millions of men voluntarily coming forward to defend their country. But although we, in these islands, had done what no other nation had been able to do, we had not yet done our very best. Every other nation fighting in this war had got every man into the ranks, if he could be spared from making munitions and other work that was necessary to the State, and if we really meant to pay a tribute to our three million men and to be true to those men in the trenches, we had to see that they were not shedding their blood in vain. There were eight millions of men in this country who were fit to fight. We had got three millions; what about the other five millions? Two millions would be needed for the production of munitions and other things. That left still three millions,

and I for one should never feel I had done my duty until I saw that these three millions had come into the fight. We were fighting for enormous stakes—such stakes as no other nation ever yet fought for. The blindest could see we could not afford to play with the war. If we were going to win—it would be because every man and woman, and boy and girl, was impressed with the notion that he or she must do his or her duty, in assisting to bring the war to an end, or they must be prepared to die for it. It was only in that spirit we should win. I was confident that spirit would animate us all eventually, and I was perfectly certain we should win in the long run. But if we did not fall into line with the other nations, what would be the result? We should doubtless win in the end, but it would be by the sacrifice of the lives of millions of men who might have been spared, and perhaps we might run the chance of not really putting down this awful world tyranny. Then we should have another war, and our sons and grandsons perhaps would have to fight for the same purpose, and they would say, 'Why did not our grandfathers go on with this war and finish it, so that never again should it be possible for a tyranny like this to come over the world?' Let us be sure that we did deserve success. We could not expect success in this or any other object on which we set our hearts, unless we were determined to deserve it, unless we took every measure which was possible to obtain victory. Other nations were doing their very best, and as long as there was one man, or one woman, who was not doing his or her duty, we were not as a nation doing our very best. We had about 47 millions of people in these islands; France had about 39 millions. Consider what France was doing. France had every man she could spare at this moment either training, or making munitions, or fighting, or doing something for the nation, owing, no

doubt, to compulsion. We were maintaining a line of about forty miles, while France was maintaining a line of very nearly 500 miles. It might be said that there were the Dardanelles, and the Cameroons. We must remember that among our forces we had to calculate Australia, Canada, and India. If we were to talk about the Empire with 400 millions, there was a great deal more to be said and done. The wonder to me was that Germany had been able to hold its own so far as it had done. It showed the extraordinary power which organisation, and discipline, could evoke, if exercised by a Government like the German, which was scornfully independent of public opinion. I had known Germany for many years. I had been partly educated in Germany, and at one time had been a young diplomatist in that country. I did not pretend to any more wisdom than other people, but I had had advantages, and knew that in 1870 German military thought was even then contemplating in the distant future what was happening to-day. They might ask why I hadn't said that before. I had said it, and so had many greater men than myself. Did not Lord Roberts warn the people over and over again ? And in my small way I had always done the same on the platform and by writing. Fancy what might be the effect if we had got those three millions of men and could throw them on to that line in Belgium ! We could end the war at once, notwithstanding the fact that the Russians had been driven back. The Germans were already boasting that they were going to bring to the Western front one or two million men from the Russian lines, and they were talking of sweeping our men away like chaff before the wind, and of taking Calais, and eventually Paris, and London. Let each one of us realise these facts, if we had not already done so, and let us make a resolution that, so far as we individually were concerned, we would,

from this moment forward, use our utmost influence to bring the awful bloody war to a satisfactory conclusion, and that there should be no peace which should make it possible for the world to be tortured again in the way in which it was now suffering, through this fearful military autocracy. The ship of State was in danger. The Captain, the Prime Minister, had summoned all hands to the pumps. It appeared to me that our duty now was to see that the Captain's orders were obeyed. Anyone who refused or failed to answer that summons was a public enemy, and should be treated as such. The time would come when we should realise we were really too meally-mouthed, and too soft towards those who absolutely declined to assist the State in this emergency, and that we individually were no longer justified in passing by on one side and saying, 'It is not my business to see that every man is doing his duty.' England expected every man to do his duty, and one of his first duties was to see that the State was obeyed. Let us make it an individual obligation to see that, either voluntarily or, if need be, compulsorily, the brave heroes whom we honoured to-day should not have bled or suffered in vain. Defeat would mean not only the end of the British Empire, and the blessings which we believed to be connected with popular government as understood in these islands, but it would mean that we should suffer as Belgium had suffered. Defeat would mean the establishment of an autocratic military despotism, fatal to all liberty and freedom, in which no man could call his soul his own. It was impossible to conceive Britain ever accepting such humiliation. Death would be far preferable. Victory was certain; but only on one condition: that we exerted ourselves individually to the fullest of our strength."

THE TRAINING OF THE NEW ARMIES

Its Influence on British Thought and Imperial Destiny

By the Earl of Meath

December, 1914

" From all the five continents of the globe the faithful subjects of the King-Emperor George the Fifth are rushing in millions to defend the British Empire from the long-considered and carefully-prepared attack of German militarism, which hoped to crush by one sudden and unexpected blow the power which stood in the way of German world dominion in moral as well as in material realms.

Never before in her history has the United Kingdom put such large armies into the field, never before has the British Empire rallied with such united enthusiasm to the call of the parent State.

It is calculated that some three millions of men have already answered this call, and that before long still larger numbers will be under arms. The training of these men to arms in such immense numbers over one-fifth of the globe cannot fail to influence irresistibly British thought, British character, and British Imperial destiny. How important it is, then, not only to the subjects of the Empire but to the whole world, that this training shall be carried out on right lines, in agreement with the best tenets of civilised ethics and in consonance with the Supreme Will.

The British and German conceptions of governance are founded on diametrically opposed ideas.

' Might,' says the German, ' is right.' 'No,' says the Briton. ' Right is independent of might. Physical

force may for a time prevail, but the eternal principles of justice will in the end establish their supremacy.'

If the British ideals are to win, therefore, it must be through the energising of material by *moral* forces—the men who wield the sword must be trained to look for victory through spiritual as well as material agencies. Hence the importance of the kind of training being given to the New Armies, which are to fight the future battles of the Empire.

The cry of Germany, as uttered by Vice-Admiral Kirchhoff in the *Hamburger Fremden Blatt* for September 4th, 1914, ' England *must* be crushed,' has been answered by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer in eloquent words which express the British as opposed to the German ideals of patriotic duty.

' There is another blessing,' said Mr Lloyd George, ' infinitely greater and more enduring, which is emerging already out of the great contest—a new patriotism, richer, nobler, more exalted than the old. I see a new recognition among all classes, high and low, shedding themselves of selfishness—a new recognition that the honour of a country does not depend merely upon the maintenance of its glory in the stricken field, but in protecting its homes from distress as well. It is a new patriotism which is bringing a new outlook over all classes. The great flood of luxury and of sloth which has submerged the land is receding, and a new Britain is appearing. We can see for the first time the fundamental things that matter in life, and that had been obscured from our vision by the tropical growth of prosperity.

We have been living in a sheltered valley for generations. We have been too comfortable, too indulgent, many perhaps too selfish, and the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation where we can see the great everlasting things that matter for a nation, the great

peaks of honour we had forgotten—duty, patriotism, and clad in glittering white the great pinnacle of sacrifice pointing like a rugged finger to heaven. We shall descend into the valley again, but as long as the men and women of this generation last they will carry in their hearts the image of those great mountain peaks whose foundations are not shaken, though Europe rock and sway in the convulsions of a great war.'

Our far-seeing King warned us years ago that we should awake out of sleep. 'Wake up, England' were the first public words he uttered on returning from a visit to the oversea States of the Empire.

Our lately deceased, well-beloved, and distinguished Field-Marshal Earl Roberts spent the last years of his valuable life in a vigorous, and alas! only partially successful campaign, endeavouring to arouse his fellow-countrymen to a sense of the peril they were in through their unpreparedness for a life and death struggle with the greatest military and naval Power the world has ever seen.

Conscious of the near approach of the national danger, he told us over and over again that 'our ordeal was at hand,' but we declined to listen to his words of wise warning, and refused to believe that Germany had any intention of attacking us, and now the ordeal is upon us, and we are suffering the untold loss of valuable lives and treasure. The very existence of our Empire is hanging in the balance, because we declined to be moved from the hypnotic condition into which we had allowed ourselves to be drugged by the deadening influences of wealth, luxury, selfishness, indifference, love of ease, and fear of pain or of discomfort. Happily, this national cancer has not taken deep root in the body politic; large classes of the British nation remain untainted by its virus. Still there are far too many thus

affected; witness the vast crowds of young men who attend professional football matches, and who, though physically healthy and in the prime of life, obstinately decline to assist their brothers, who for lack of their aid are dying in the trenches, defending the lives and the homes of these very slackers and the honour of their womankind. Such thoughtless and scandalous conduct on the part of a comparatively small portion of the public, through the publicity given to its shortcomings, has unjustly brought discredit on the British name and has encouraged the enemy.

It is true that the 150,000 to 300,000 men who are accustomed to attend these professional football gatherings are not all of military age, and that some of them have possibly offered their services to the State and have been refused for diverse reasons, yet if half be thus eliminated there still remains a number sufficient to bring decisive victory to our arms, and possibly put an end to the war, if they would only enlist.

Some three years since an effort was made by a few men and women who recognised the existence of a certain slackness amongst sections of the British people, and who foresaw the advent of the present national ordeal, to prepare by early training a generation which should recognise the value of these words, and whose moral fibre should be hardened in youth to such a fine temper that there need be no fear of their being unable to resist victoriously in peace as well as in war, all hostile attempts at their destruction.

The experience obtained in war is also impressing the above ideals on the minds of our soldiers, for recently the following lines from a non-commissioned officer written to his wife appeared in the Press:

'Whatever you do, make the children do things for themselves, clear up rooms, make their own beds, wash

KILLRUDDERY. BEECH HEDGE AND BARCHHUILLIA MOUNTAIN

up, and, in fact, let them be accustomed to all the business of keeping themselves alive for themselves. It is tragic sometimes to see our fellows' helplessness. . . . Make the children handy and self-reliant at all costs, and make them ready to help others.'

Germany made war, amongst other reasons, because she thought her opportunity had arrived, and because she exaggerated the symptoms of decadence which she, as well as the founders of the Duty and Discipline Movement, observed amongst certain classes in the British Isles. The German Government blames England for not having told her more plainly before war was declared that under certain circumstances she would consider herself bound to fight for France and Russia, thus acknowledging that in German opinion the British people were so decadent that for fear of consequences under no circumstances would they take up arms in defence of their honour or for any cause which did not directly touch their own selfish and material interests. It is this misunderstanding of the true feelings of the British people which led to most of the wars we have waged in modern times. Happily the German statesmen and diplomatists were grossly in error in their calculations respecting the progress of national decadence in Britain. This low conception of the motives which are supposed to actuate the British people is very prevalent on the Continent. Never again must the foreigner be allowed to fall into this error, so fatal to the peace of the world.

It appears to the writer that the present world war is fraught with much ultimate blessing to the British race, and that the ordeal through which it is passing will purge the national character of much of the dross which is now mixed with the pure gold.

Never before has it been possible to subject so large a

proportion of the people to the wholesome influence of a strict discipline voluntarily and cheerfully endured at the call of patriotic duty ; never before have millions of men at the most impressionable period of their lives been brought under religious, moral, and civilising influences in circumstances so calculated to make the most frivolous and careless individual consider the more serious aspects of human life ; and never before have millions of Englishmen fought on the Continent of Europe. The British armies of olden days were comparatively small in numbers, and were not composed of representatives of all classes as they are to-day, consequently when the war was over and they returned home their influence was not great.

Has not the war sent the British people to school ? Has it not taught them, and is it not teaching them, much in regard to their Empire of which they formerly were ignorant ? Has it not brought home to them the immense importance of sea supremacy ? Has it not proved to them the absolute necessity of being prepared for war by land as well as by sea ? Has it not revealed to them the incalculable reserves of strength in man-power, as well as in material resources, the possession of so vast an Empire places at the disposal of the subjects of King George the Fifth ? Has it not shown them how important it is to retain the affections of these 400 millions of British subjects ?

The British world has been thrilled, and will continue to be thrilled, by reading of the gallant deeds performed by Englishmen, Scotsmen, Welshmen, Irishmen, Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, Newfoundlanders, South Africans, Indians, and other races, all fighting shoulder to shoulder in defence of justice, freedom, and progress. Feelings of respect for each other must inevitably be aroused which will go far to strengthen

the bonds of love which unite all portions of the British Empire. Canadians will have been trained side by side with Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen, Welshmen, and Indians, on Salisbury Plain. Australians and New Zealanders will have manœuvred with British Territorials and Indian soldiers over the sands of Egypt.

When the war is over, if we do not lose sight of spiritual influences, these men, trained under the same system, imbued by a like patriotism, owing allegiance to the same Sovereign, fighting shoulder to shoulder in Europe, Africa, China, and the Pacific Islands, will return home impressed by the unanimity of Imperial feeling existing amongst their fellow-subjects of all races and colours, by their loyalty to the common Sovereign, and by the magnificent qualities of brain and heart which they have all displayed in defending the common cause, and in addition they will have acquired a far greater knowledge of each other than they ever enjoyed before the war.

The training, moral, mental, and physical, these armies have received will, when peace is restored, be reflected in the thought and actions of the civil populations of the different States of which the Empire is composed, and into which these trained and disciplined armies will have been absorbed, and many and radical changes in popular and democratic thought may be confidently anticipated—changes which will probably break up existing political parties, and vastly strengthen the mighty Empire which Germany had confidently hoped to crush and to replace by a world-wide military despotism.

South Africa was united to the Empire by the efforts President Kruger made to destroy the latter. The British Empire will probably owe the full accomplishment of its Imperial destiny to the envious, malevolent, and deeply laid plot of the German Emperor and military

party to crush once for all the principles of liberty, freedom, and justice so hateful to German militarism. There is every cause to believe that the British Empire will emerge from this war far stronger than it ever was before, and the world will be the happier for the mad but futile efforts of the Kaiser to substitute a universal, medieval, autocratic tyranny, based on force, for the life-giving principles which have made the British Empire the envy of the world."

XV

MINISTERING CHILDREN'S LEAGUE

Founded by the late Lady Brabazon, afterwards Countess of Meath

GENESIS OF THE MINISTERING CHILDREN'S LEAGUE IN 1885

By Lord Meath

IN 1885 my wife started the Ministering Children's League by holding a meeting in our London House, 83 Lancaster Gate, under the presidency of the Rev. C. J. Ridgeway, afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

In her own words in a letter written to persons desiring to join the League she said: "This Association which has spread in a most remarkable manner was originally started in London for the express purpose of teaching the children of the rich to take an active interest in relieving the necessities of the poor. If any doubt that this object has been effected, let them take a glance at one of the many charitable institutions which have been either originated by the League or materially assisted by it. But the Society has, we trust, been instrumental in accomplishing far more than this, for it has been helping to form the characters of the young people who belong to it. The daily performance of kind habits of thoughtfulness and unselfishness, whilst the words of the simple prayer to be made 'Loving, kind, and useful to others' must have had a wider influence that can ever be known on this side of eternity. In addition to this, poorer

children are encouraged to become members and taught to be thoughtful of those worse off than themselves."

The present Chairman of the Executive Committee in 1927 wrote: "The League is interdenominational, and there is only one rule, 'Every member of the League must try to do at least one kind deed every day.' It is divided into branches under the control of Associates, and meetings of the children are held periodically in order to enable them to make in their leisure hours articles which can be sold for the benefit first of local charities, and secondly for some central philanthropic institution established in each country, for its influence is world-wide. The central institution for the British Isles is situated in Ottershaw, Chertsey, Surrey, where there are some sixty destitute children largely maintained by the contributions of M.C.L. branches, and its central office is at 191 Tottenham Court Road, London."

There are branches in Australia, New Zealand, India, Hong Kong, Penang, Egypt, and Japan.

THE MINISTERING CHILDREN'S LEAGUE IN 1886

By Lord Brabazon, afterwards 12th Earl of Meath

We often hear that the gulf between rich and poor is widening; that there is less sympathy between classes than there used to be, that the poor man hates the rich, and the rich man fears the poor, with an intensity which was unknown to our ancestors; and we are threatened with social upheavals in the near future which we are told are to overwhelm Society. Personally I doubt the accuracy of these assertions; but whether the seers of these dismal visions are true prophets or false I care not to consider. I am content to leave the future in the hands

of a beneficent Power which directs all things for the ultimate good of man.

It is possible, I suppose, that the world may have again to pass through some fiery furnace like that of the French Revolution, from which it shall issue purified and regenerated. It is of little consequence, however, what may be the individual views and hopes of the writer or of the reader of this paper; they may be founded on the rock of wisdom or on the sands of folly. Time alone will prove this. The one factor in the solution of this question which is of importance to both reader and writer, and the only one over which they can hope to possess any effectual control, is that of their individual responsibility in the matter. For of this we may be certain—that we make our own history. There is no effect without an originating cause, and political and social upheavals are as much the effect of individual, as earthquakes are of volcanic, action. Now, if we possess this control, it is surely the part of honest and patriotic, not to say of Christian, men to cultivate the philanthropic sentiment, and to take pains to bring up their children with a desire to benefit their fellow-creatures, and with a genuine love of humanity; to show them that no custom, or prejudice, or class feeling, should ever be permitted to sever them in sympathy from any man or section of men; to encourage them in the habit of looking at matters and considering arguments from an opponent's point of view; to teach them to give all men credit for honesty and good intentions until they have been found wanting; to lead them to make a practice as far as possible of getting to know personally the men or classes of men with whose opinions, social, political, or religious, they have the least sympathy, and never to believe evil of others unless the evidence in support of the accusation is founded upon some better foundation than that of common report.

Should the above propositions be granted, the question will still arise, whether sympathetic interest in others, and consideration for others, are qualities which are capable of cultivation; whether it is possible to train the mind and character so that altruism shall, even if only from habit, to a certain extent take the place of selfishness. Love of self is so deeply implanted in the human breast that the world need be in no fear of any very serious disturbance occurring to the recognised course of events, even should a little more unselfishness have to be taken in future into consideration in calculating the result of human motives.

There are some who believe that the above questions can be answered in the affirmative, and as childhood is a time when impressions can be readily made and the character moulded, they have endeavoured to give practical effect to their views by the formation of a "Ministering Children's League," the objects of which are to promote kindness, unselfishness, and the habit of usefulness amongst children, and to create in their minds an earnest desire to help the needy and suffering. The little ones who join this Association take no engagement upon themselves, and make no promises. They may leave the League at any time, and they are not permitted to join without the sanction and approval of their parents. Having joined, however, they are asked to endeavour to do at least one kind deed every day, and they are taught to remember that in the home circle numerous opportunities may be found of being kind to others. Three or four times a year the members of the local branches meet, and on such occasions, in the neighbourhood of the trysting place, may be seen hundreds of little feet trotting along in the same direction, the hands of their owners laden with articles of their own manufacture, to be sent to poor districts, for distribution amongst the needy.

It is hoped that these children, having once acquired the habit of ministering to the wants of others, will, as they grow up, seek out larger opportunities of benefiting their fellow-creatures, and will transmit later on to their children the desire to take an active part in the philanthropic work of their generation, and thus establish amongst the rich and leisured classes of England, in a greater degree than at present, the wholesome feeling that it is their duty and privilege to labour for the good of others.

To quote the words of the Foundress, "It is sad to note how many, many deeds of kindness remain undone, how many days and hours are wasted, and how much misery remains unalleviated, because men, women, and children have never acquired the habit of making themselves of use to their fellow-creatures, and have never learned to appreciate the luxury of doing good. Children have warm, generous hearts, but these hearts often become hardened, for many little ones are from their very cradles trained in habits of luxury and thoughtlessness of the needs of others. Even self-denying parents have self-indulgent children, and to the former it is a sore trial to see their offspring growing into selfish men and women. The habit of usefulness in the world requires cultivation as well as any other; it is grossly neglected, and yet surely it is calculated to be a greater blessing to those who acquire it than to those who are benefited by it. The Ministering Children's League has been formed in the hope that, under the Providence of God, it may prove a humble instrument for the diffusion of happiness and the alleviation of misery, and that it may lead in some small degree to the improvement of the rising generation."

M.C.L. INDUSTRIES FOR THE BLIND IN EGYPT

By the late Countess of Meath

June, 1903

"Countless readers have lately had their attention drawn to the report issued by Lord Cromer which points to the great financial prosperity of Egypt. England may well be proud of the way in which justice and right have taken the place of cruelty and wrong.

It is marvellous what has been accomplished in the past in a land which so lately was groaning under the weight of oppression. Much remains to be done in the future, and some may possibly be interested to hear of an effort, small and insignificant, as many might consider it, but yet one which has bright hopes for the future. In these days, when fashionable people rush off to Cairo merely to plunge into a foolish vortex of frivolity which might as easily have been indulged in nearer home, and behave in such a manner that observant natives rightly or wrongly conclude that, after all, our standard of morality is not much higher than their own, it is not to be anticipated that such butterfly visitors will pay much heed to the needs of the poor in Egypt. There is, however, a class of persons here whose forlorn figures are very conspicuous, and for whose benefit the more advanced humanity of the West should be utilised.

Owing to various causes—chiefly to superstition, dirt, and neglect—ophthalmia causes most melancholy results in the East, and blindness is very common. Living in a state of isolation from his fellows, what a sad fate has the blind man, who is often nothing but a hopeless, helpless beggar. It is true that the Mohammedan religion encourages its followers in bestowing alms on those

deprived of the blessing of sight, but it stands to reason that idleness is not conducive to the happiness of life. It is action which quickens the pulse, banishes care, and gives a sense of satisfaction unknown to the mere idler; consequently it is a terrible misfortune when an infirmity like blindness is permitted to debar the sufferer from the satisfaction of feeling that he has done an honest day's work. In Western lands blind persons are helped to rise triumphantly over physical disability, and it is well known what hard-working, useful lives many have been assisted to enjoy. We hope that brighter days are now in store for the sightless in Egypt. Three years ago the Ministering Children's League, a Society which enlists young people, with their elders, as helpers of the poor and suffering, established an Industrial School for the Blind in Alexandria. It was then but a small venture. A teacher of wicker-work had been procured from England, as there was no possibility of finding such an individual in Egypt. It was a great pleasure to me to be allowed to assist in the opening ceremony of this institution, which was carried on at first in the casement rooms of a house almost opposite the railway station. This spring (1903) I was again in Alexandria and was present at an "At Home" given by the Committee for the purpose of inaugurating the start of the school in a building entirely devoted to the purpose of providing for the needs of blind lads. Roomy though it is in comparison with our former premises, it is not unlikely that we shall shortly have further to enlarge our borders, as nowadays the institution is proving a very popular one, the work done within its walls not only being excellent in quality but most attractive to customers. Fortunately, when starting this industry for the blind, our Society not only provided happy employment for them, but it had also the good fortune to supply a need. Egyptian basket work is

entirely different from our own, and not adapted to the requirements of Europeans, consequently they were dependent upon the goods imported from a distance. It was therefore a boon to customers to be able to choose articles made on the spot, and to give orders for any of peculiar size or shape. The work done is not now confined to mere baskets, as quite a variety of objects are exhibited for sale, such as wicker work tables and armchairs, etc., and it is greatly to the credit of the English teacher, who naturally has many difficulties to contend with in a land differing from his own, that the lads so quickly attained their present standard of efficiency. Nothing, perhaps, can prove more clearly the popularity of the institution than the way in which the funds of the Society have, during the last two years, been augmented by the sale of wicker work. In 1901, £76 was realised by the boys' work, in 1902 nearly £140, whilst in the current year some £75 is already accounted for, from the 1st of January to the beginning of April, through sales and orders, giving a good promise of over £200 being earned in 1903. It is consequently confidently hoped that within a comparatively short period this institution will be entirely self-supporting, and new vistas of future usefulness are opening out.

The difficulty of constantly begging for charities, however excellent may be their object, is known by painful experience to many of us. It is therefore a relief to think that a work so benevolent in character as that of giving occupation to the blind may possibly spread into various towns in Egypt, as it has done in many European cities, and give employment to a large number of people without requiring the expenditure of money, after the work has once been properly set going.

On the occasion of my last visit to Alexandria, a Committee was held to consider whether there would be

a likelihood of introducing work for the blind into fresh centres, with the result that it was discovered that both at Mansourah, a city of some importance on the Nile and in which there is a very fair proportion of European residents, and also at Tantah, the need for the introduction of this work was fully realised. In the former town great eagerness was shown to commence operations as quickly as possible, and a suitable teacher is now being sought. Lack of knowledge of Arabic naturally adds greatly to the difficulties of an English instructor; but in this case such difficulties will be lightened, as a Mansourah lad is now learning English as well as wicker-work in the school in Alexandria, and is likely to prove of much service as an interpreter. It is hoped that before long another centre of work may be opened in Tantah, where the members of the American Mission have an important station.

It is not unlikely that some readers may be acquainted with the work established in over 230 Workhouses and lunatic asylums in Great Britain, known as the Brabazon Employment Society. This Association has proved in the most gratifying manner that industries, even when carried on by most aged and decrepit persons, can yet be made to pay in a remarkable way. It required a certain amount of capital to start the undertaking, but for some years the work has not needed any pecuniary support. Grants are given from the Central Fund to start this enterprise in fresh institutions, but these grants are repaid in the course of a comparatively short period through the sale of the articles made by the infirm inmates. The experience I have gained in my connection with this Society ever since its commencement makes me feel extremely hopeful about the future of industries for the blind in Egypt. It is true that the Brabazon Employment Society owes much of its success exclusively to the

large band of voluntary workers who have willingly and devotedly given up a great deal of time to the work, thereby earning the gratitude of thousands who but for these kindly offices would have passed their days in a state of helpless inactivity, productive of much wretchedness. The change for the better in the condition of some of the inmates, owing to the introduction of the Association is almost incredible, and it has won very favourable opinions from those who have the welfare of the unfortunate at heart. Over and over again Boards of Guardians have tendered their thanks in very flattering terms to workers in this Society, so it is little wonder if I am sanguine with regard to the enterprise set going in Egypt, and I trust that before many years have passed there may be a centre of happy activity for the blind in many cities in that most interesting Eastern land."

MINISTERING CHILDREN'S LEAGUE IN EGYPT

1904

In 1904 Lady Meath (formerly Lady Brabazon) laid the foundation stone of an Industrial School for the Blind at Alexandria, in Egypt, which she built, and presented to the Ministering Children's League, in that city. In the presence of H.H. Prince Omar Toussoun, H.E. the Governor of Alexandria, Mr E. H. Gould, H.B. Majesty's Consul-General, and a distinguished company, at Lady Meath's request, I read a paper she had prepared, in which she said:

"On behalf of our 'Ministering Children's League' Committee, I desire to thank you for coming here this afternoon, to take part in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of our new Industrial School for the Blind. We are specially grateful to His Excellency the Governor of Alexandria, for his kindness in having put

off his journey to Cairo, for the express purpose of being present this afternoon. It is a source of deep regret that Mrs James Watson, the Hon. Secretary of the Ministering Children's League in this City, is unable, through illness, to be present to-day. Many here are doubtless aware that during the last four years, ever since a teacher from England was procured for the purpose, blind men and boys have been taught wicker work in this city. The undertaking has, I am thankful to say, proved remarkably successful. The pupils are becoming very skilful, and are already placed in a position to earn money for themselves. Not only that, but their whole *moral* appears to have been raised, judging from an incident which occurred the other day. The mother of one of the boys came to a member of the Blind School Committee, for the purpose of expressing her gratitude for what had been done for her son. She said that formerly he used to sit and moan, and weep, because he was blind ; now all is changed, he attends the school regularly, and has been given work to do which makes him happy, and helps him to forget his infirmity. In our present building we have room for more boys, and in the new school there will be more space ; consequently, we shall be glad if kind friends and supporters will send us fresh pupils, who will be taught a remunerative occupation, free of charge. At Tantah a workshop is to be started in September, and it was a great pleasure to find how much interest is being taken locally in this scheme for helping the sightless. Indeed, it does not seem unreasonable to hope that in course of time there may be a technical school started in every large town in Egypt, for the benefit of this very deserving class of sufferers. It was most interesting to me, as a European, to have an opportunity afforded me quite lately of visiting the splendid institution of which Khalil Hemdy Bey Hamady

is the honoured President, and which is known by the name of Société des Secours Mutuels et de Bienfaisance des Portefaix de la Douane d'Alexandrie. I noticed that this admirable institution was worked on modern self-supporting and Western principles, though started in an Eastern land. It is true that this very far-reaching, comprehensive charity (its President, if he will permit me to say so, seems to have a genius for successfully carrying out philanthropic work, like the Blind School) cannot at present exist without some pecuniary help, but we hope that before long the pupils will have become clever workmen, quite independent of all charitable aid. As Hon. Secretary of the M.C.L. (the Society which started this work for the blind in Alexandria), I must now express my warmest thanks to Mr Alderson for his most generous gift to our Society." (Mr Alderson presented the land.) "Many charities in Alexandria owe a debt of gratitude to him for his large-hearted benevolence, and it is greatly owing to this that our Society is about to become the proud possessor of valuable property of its own in Alexandria. On this site a technical school, especially adapted for the wants of the blind, is to be erected. This building, when finished, will form one of eighteen institutions, scattered far and wide, which owe their origin to the 'Ministering Children's League.' The League has a two-fold object. (1.) It trains young people in unselfishness; and (2.) It seeks to provide for the needs of those who are in distress. It exists but to do good, and if it ceased to do so, the Society would no doubt very quickly fall to pieces. It has but one rule, that its members must strive every day to do at least one kind deed, and be loving and useful to others. It has united people of most varied ideas, and of differing colour, race, and language, numbering some 40,000. When it is introduced into a new country or district, its members either join in charitable work

existing, or, as was the case in Egypt, it originates benevolent work on behalf of those whose needs in the past have been overlooked. In Australasia the Society has found such warm support, that nearly all Colonies have a 'Ministering Children's League' institution of their own, namely: Victoria, New South Wales, New Zealand, Tasmania, and West Australia. In this latter Colony the League Institution was erected at the cost of £4000, and is one of their most popular charities.

The work for the blind in Egypt has created much interest and sympathy amongst our members in England. Some of the baskets made in Alexandria were sent over to England last year. They were very much admired, and found ready purchasers, most of whom are already familiar with the faces of the blind boys and their teachers in Alexandria, as they have seen pictures of them in our magazine. An expert pronounced that the work done by these Egyptian lads was quite as good, if not better, than that which would have been done by English lads in institutions long established in our own country. There is, therefore, much to encourage us, and we may confidently hope that, with the Divine blessing, this work for the afflicted may long continue to bring solace and joy into the lives of our suffering brethren."

THE MINISTERING CHILDREN'S LEAGUE

By the late Countess of Meath

1891

"Six years ago an undertaking was commenced destined to have most happy results. It had been felt that, amongst people in general, only a certain few were willing to engage in charitable work, whilst there were numbers of individuals with plenty of time and money at their

disposal who stood aloof and did little or nothing towards the all-important task of endeavouring to diminish evil and suffering in the world. Why are there so many useless persons to be found ? why such numbers who are reluctant to stir a finger to aid a fellow creature ? The true answer to this question doubtless is, because they are not inspired by God's best gift of love. But without going so far down to the root of the evil, may not a good deal of the self-seeking which there is in the world be traced to the fact that only a few young people are trained during the early and most impressionable time of youth to regard doing good to others not so much as a duty as a positive pleasure ? Self-denial is taught them on Sundays in church when they hear the teaching of Holy Writ, but unless it sinks deeply into their hearts, and parents and teachers will lay much stress upon it, the lesson is heard and then speedily forgotten. The object of our education ought to be to train up a child to become a devoted Christian, not one who merely reads his Bible occasionally and attends a certain number of Church services, but who brings his Christianity into daily life, trying humbly to follow in the footsteps of Him who went about doing good. Such a man can scarcely fail to be useful to hundreds of his fellow-creatures ; he is happy himself, and he makes others so. On the other hand, there are numbers of persons who have been given, as we are assured, the best of education, and yet they are dissatisfied men and women and very useless members of society. This is owing in a great measure to the way in which they were brought up. If a boy or girl is destined by parents to become a great scholar, musician, or painter, they must insist upon years of patient study commenced in early youth. It ought to be an object of the highest ambition for those who love their children to see them growing up to be men and women whose lives will be richly blessed

to others, and yet how little comparatively is done to train young people to find true and lasting happiness in ministering to the needs of others! It is because the lesson is too often wholly neglected or laid far too little stress upon that the Society about which I have been asked to write has been formed. The young members may join its ranks as soon as they can understand the meaning of the rule, 'Try to do *at least* one kind deed every day'; and of a prayer now used by young people scattered far and wide in the world, which runs thus: 'Loving Father, make me like the Holy Child, Jesus, a ministering child, loving, kind, and useful to others, make me to feel for the poor and suffering, and may I be willing to do what I can to help all who need, for Jesus' sake.'

It will be seen that this Society is a union for work and prayer amongst the young of the simplest possible description. That blessing has rested upon the undertakings of the League can scarcely be doubted. There are tokens of outward prosperity; thirty-five thousand have joined its ranks, who are scattered over the four quarters of the world, the children having joined as members, their elders as associates, and on the earnestness of parents much depends as guides to the little ones. There are four buildings, which can bear testimony to the fact that the League is doing useful work in the world: two of these are in our own land, for a home for destitute boys, and one for girls, have been erected at Ottershaw, near Chertsey. Anyone who will inspect these institutions, and see the rosy-cheeked little ones, rescued, some of them, from very sad surroundings, will be disposed to think that, at any rate, the Society has been of service to these poor children. A little chapel, thousands of miles distant, in Dakota, U.S., bears witness to the good done by the Association. Here, Sunday after Sunday, the Red Indians have been enabled to worship God in a

church built for them by the members of a New York branch of the 'Ministering Children's League.' In Canada there is a little hospital for children, which also owes its origin to this beneficent Society; nor is that all, for it is rumoured that one of the English branches proposes to start a coffee-house, and in Australia there has been a proposal to see if a convalescent home could not be established. These are but outward signs of the good which the League has been doing. Its influence upon the characters of the little workers cannot be recorded in any report, even if it were written by the cleverest of pens, but testimony as to the usefulness of the Society in promoting the spirit of unselfishness, has been borne by parents and teachers. 'I love your League, it has been a real help to me,' wrote, one day, a girl just blooming into womanhood. She only gave expression to a thought which, I trust, will be that of thousands of young folks when years of discretion are reached. How many of us older people might have been helped to lead far more useful lives, if only in the springtime of our youth we had been taught to do our duty to others, a lesson best learnt in early childhood, but often acquired only after much suffering has been endured. When other pleasures fade, then perhaps we are almost driven to seek for satisfaction in that which gives us more lasting enjoyment. So ought it not to be. 'Il faut donner les meilleures années de sa vie au bon Dieu,' said a devoted French sister, whose whole life was given up to the service of the poor. How true, we ought to give our lives in their brightness and in their fulness, and not just the dregs of an existence which no longer affords us satisfaction. The 'Ministering Children's League' seeks to lead the young in the days when impressions are easily formed and not easily obliterated, to teach the happiness of a self-sacrificing life: nor is

it too much to expect that by teaching them to minister here on earth, we are fitting them for higher service hereafter in heaven."

1916

LADY MEATH'S LAST REPORT

M.C.L.

The following is my wife's last report on the "Ministering Childrens" League.' She died in 1918.

"*July 8th*, 1916.

"Another year has flown since our last Conference, when our ever kind and helpful Associates were good enough to assemble in this house to discuss the welfare of the League. At home we find ourselves still in the throes of an awful war causing almost endless sorrow and suffering, whilst hearts are wrung with fear and anguish over a vast portion of the civilised world. Our own dear land has by God's good Providence been saved from the horrors of a foreign invasion, but our people have had their full share of affliction to bear. Great changes in the conditions of life have come about, changes for the better and for the worse ; but we trust that the former happily largely predominate. Charitable work, not specially connected with the war, has had to be carried on under great difficulty, for workers have left, incomes have diminished, whilst the clergy are often too short-handed and preoccupied to give the aid to the religious and philanthropic organisations to which they generously afforded help before the awful struggle began. On the other hand, never perhaps has the spirit of ministering been so widely diffused. Our heroic soldiers and sailors have set such a marvellous example of cheerful self-sacrifice that it has inspired many of those left at home

to splendid action. Young people have proved most eager helpers, many of whom previous to the war had done little or no altruistic work, and though our League has had considerable difficulty in keeping afloat the parish branches started amongst children, as the clergy are too busy to call meetings together, yet a Society which seeks to bind young people together to render service to their fellow-creatures ought not, at this anxious time, to lack support, nor has it done so.

If on the one hand M.C.L. branches have diminished, there has been a satisfactory increase in those of the Ministering League started in schools, for a number of ladies at the head of educational establishments have been convinced of the advantages to be derived from associating themselves and their pupils with an organisation recommending itself by its wonderful comprehensiveness caused by great simplicity, whilst evidence of its practical use is readily shown by the large amount of charitable work it has accomplished. The M.C.L. as a children's Society laboured under difficulties. It had to compete with many rival organisations started for little folks, and naturally suffered from a heavy and constant leakage from its ranks. As the members grew older they dropped out ; but, as I have frequently pointed out, the ' Ministering League ' as an association claiming elder as well as younger people in its membership, is in a more fortunate position, and girls who belong to it during their school days cannot honestly feel that it is an inappropriate Society for them when the wider duties of life devolve upon them. Heads of schools have found eager helpers in their pupils during the war, in enterprises formed for the assistance of their country in general and soldiers and sailors in particular, and these ladies felt the benefit of linking these undertakings on to kindred ones organised by a Society like ours,

which strives not only to stir up present action, but aims at the continuance of altruistic work in the future.

Difficult times lie before us. This war will leave the young more independent, outside work has proved in many cases singularly attractive, the 'daily round and common task' may seem in comparison very little so, and yet they cannot be wholly neglected. Elders will need much wisdom and patience, and the younger courage to face monotonous duties; all will need that love which 'beareth all things.' United action in ministering to others proves a wonderful cement to bind together even naturally discordant elements.

The war has rendered it impossible for me to do any distant travelling; I am all the more thankful to say that the results of what Lord Meath and I were permitted to do in the days when the world was not devastated by deadly strife are still evident. A visit to the Ottershaw Homes should alone be sufficient to show that something practical came of our wanderings; for here we have no less than seven overseas cots provided for. Lady May from Hong Kong sent us nearly £100 quite lately; consequently, a second cot is to be allotted to this branch. In Japan, Yokohama and Kobe both have 'cots,' so, too, have Shanghai and Penang, whilst South Australian helpers have for long years generously supported one of our beds. This year, however, the palm for splendid gifts, coming from a far distance, must be awarded to Penang. Besides the money sent for the maintenance of a child in our Ottershaw Homes, this liberal branch has also assisted the education of two lads in Singapore; it has given £450 for the purchase of a Motor Ambulance to be sent to the Front, as well as bestowed a small donation towards its upkeep. The Belgian Red Cross Fund also received a handsome donation. This wonderful financial success was not, as might

be expected, obtained without the help of elders and of those not immediately connected with the League, but it was our Society which organised a well-attended bazaar, and Chinese ladies gave liberally to a Patriotic Stall held on this occasion. Such magnificent help is doubly valuable, coming as it does when in our own land a shortage of money is being felt. It is indeed cheering to find that those living at such a distance from home are yet willing to come to our aid.

Not long since two photos from Egypt reached me. One depicted a camel lying down so that he could be laden up; the other the same animal standing erect bearing panniers for the transport of sick or wounded soldiers across the desert. Needless to say, these photos afforded me great satisfaction, when I discovered that these panniers were made in our 'Industrial School for the Blind' in Alexandria, and they proved that not only were the poor sightless lads in that Eastern city aided to earn a useful living, but that they were continuing to render assistance to our brave soldiers.

Last spring I paid a visit to our Exmouth Home. It was a joy to me to see what capital work is being carried on in this attractive little abode. A deeply interested committee, with the aid of a very cheery, devoted Matron, are making a great success of this League institution. It has earned a good reputation for the recovery of the youthful patients who are sometimes sent from long distances to derive benefit from a stay in this well-organised seaside Home.

It is, however, in Ottershaw, as is known to almost all of us, that the greatest amount of charitable work is being carried on in connection with our Association in England. The undertakings at present are of a very varied description. This little Surrey village, though it owns but 800 inhabitants, is the happy possessor of

no less than six buildings of good dimensions, each one devoted to benevolent purposes.

First I will mention 'Ottermead,' which still continues to do most successful Red Cross work under the management of that Society, we lending the building rent free. This little military hospital has earned high praise from authorities. The officer in command of the wounded soldiers at No 2 St Mark's Hospital, Chelsea, wrote to a lady living in the neighbourhood of Ottershaw urging her to use her utmost endeavours to keep the institution open on account of its 'unique value' to the patients sent there. Meath Cottage, founded and rented by the Girls' Realm Guild as a Hostel for Ladies, has this year been considerably enlarged. The rent, £80 per annum, forms a substantial addition to our League's sources of income. The Guild is, thanks to the good management of their sympathetic lady housekeepers, making a great success of the undertaking. It is regarded as a little paradise by some of its tired visitors, who are delighted to escape from the noisy, restless city, and to snatch a well-earned holiday in beautiful surroundings. The M.C.L. Sanatorium continues to be temporarily used for soldiers' and sailors' children—their fathers are serving in the war. A merry party of little folks they are, enjoying the freedom of country life. Lastly, there are the three Homes for children, which for so long a period have done such excellent work. These useful institutions have been labouring under financial difficulties just as many other establishments of the kind are doing, now that the cost of living has very considerably increased.

Happily, in the case of the M.C.L. Homes, the shortage of money need not cause very serious apprehension; indeed, I am inclined to think the money deficiency may prove a blessing in disguise, as it draws attention to institutions that carry on their useful labours so quietly

in the depths of the country that they are sometimes in danger of being overlooked. Already kind supporters are coming to the rescue. The Wanganui Branch in New Zealand has generously sent us no less than £25, Lady Braddon, on behalf of Northern Tasmania, £10. At Stellenbosch, in the Cape Colony, the Rhenish Institute has given £5, with a most cordial message. Other branches, nearer Ottershaw, are coming to our aid; consequently there is, mercifully, no very serious anxiety about finances.

I love our League institutions, scattered as they are over the world and effecting as much good in the Antipodes as they are at home. Proud and happy we may be that our Society has been permitted to do so much good. At the same time, let us never forget that the main object of our Society ought not to be just the amassing of large sums of money for charitable purposes, however excellent their objects may be. A branch established only with the idea of getting funds together will never be one of the real and best kind—our aim should be higher. We should seek to form character and help our members to lead a truly ministering life, which means a Christian one. If this be our aim, we must pray as well as work and influence the young people to do the same.

May I be permitted once again to give my heartfelt thanks to devoted workers in our Society, not only to those living in the British Isles, but also to those in far-distant lands. Some are separated from us by the whole width of the world. They are indeed far away from us in body, but not in spirit, for I am certain they are with us in the desire to make this poor war-tortured earth a little less like Hell, as hatred would render it, and more like the Heaven of Love above."

XVI

METROPOLITAN PUBLIC GARDENS ASSOCIATION

1882

PARKS, OPEN SPACES AND PLAYGROUNDS

The Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, of which the 12th Earl of Meath is Founder and Chairman, was founded in 1882, when he was Lord Brabazon.

FIRST OPEN SPACE LAID OUT BY THE METROPOLITAN PUBLIC GARDENS ASSOCIATION IN 1884

WHEN I was Lord Brabazon I wrote the following letter to *The Times* in 1884:

"Amongst the many efforts made within the last few years to secure some small open spaces and recreation grounds in densely crowded districts, none have been so hardly fought for as the site of Horsemonger Lane Jail. The history of this battle commenced soon after the Government took over the various County Prisons. Many of them were found to be unsuitable and no longer required, and among the latter was the historical Horsemonger Lane. This soon became known to the various local authorities, who were too well aware how much an open space was needed for the pent-up and teeming population of Kent Street, with its numerous courts in the midst of the overcrowded district of Southwark. Memorials now began to pour in from the vestries of St George the Martyr, Bermondsey, and St Mary, Newington (which latter vestry some years

since passed a resolution offering to maintain the site as a garden for the enjoyment of the public if it were handed over to them), and from the guardians of the poor of the latter parish, as well as from other persons, but without result. Just at this time the grand jury for the county of Surrey made a 'presentment' at Quarter Sessions to the effect 'that the site of Horsemonger Lane be handed over to the Metropolitan Board of Works, or to the local authorities, as a recreation ground for the poor and densely-crowded inhabitants of this part of the county.'

At the following Sessions, this was repeated in a still more emphatic form, for this time the 'presentment' was, 'that in the opinion of this grand jury, the only wise appropriation of the site of the old gaol is as a recreation ground, and that it be handed over to the local authorities free of cost, to be maintained by them for that purpose.' The county magistrates, however, regardless of the twice-expressed opinion of the grand jury, and in spite of the pressure of public opinion brought to bear upon them, resolved that the site should be sold, and it was accordingly put up to auction as building ground, but the reserved price not being reached, the sale was happily not effected. The 'Kyrle Society' now took the matter up, and, in answer to the county magistrates' argument, that it would not be fair to the ratepayers of the more distant parts of the county to hand over the ground as a free gift, instituted a canvass of the ratepayers, the result of which was a very numerously signed petition, showing that a not insignificant portion of the Surrey ratepayers were in favour of its dedication to the public as a recreation ground. Dr Carpenter, and other magistrates, then moved that the site be not sold, but retained for future county purposes. This resolution was carried, and it is to be hoped that it

will, at least for a time, preserve it from the encroachment of bricks and mortar. The 'Metropolitan Public Gardens, Boulevard, and Playground Association,' of which I have the honour to be Chairman, has now offered to lay out and plant the ground at its own expense, if the county magistrates will grant a lease of it at a nominal rental, and for such a length of term as would warrant the outlay, feeling that if the site were converted, if only for a few years, into a recreation ground, it would for the time become a source of health and enjoyment to a miserably poor and overcrowded neighbourhood. Unhappily, our offer led to no result, the magistrates being only disposed to let it subject to a heavy rental and under agreement to quit at a fortnight's notice. The ultimate effect of this was a surrender on the part of the magistrates, and the acquisition under lease of this valuable land by the 'Metropolitan Public Garden Association,' and subsequently its permanent transfer to the London County Council for maintenance as an open space for the benefit of the Public."

PUNCH ON "MEATHROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS"

1889

"Somehow I fancied that London was such an ugly Capital," said Sir Titus Macduff, ex-Premier of the South West Windward Isles, as he stood in company with an intelligent Cicerone, on the site of what was once Smithfield Market. As far as eye could reach, nothing was to be seen but waving greenery, verdant lawns, and sheep peacefully browsing by the side of purling brooks.

"You must have been away from England a long time?" suggested his companion.

"For thirty years," replied the distinguished Colonist.

"Ah, then perhaps you never heard of an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for April 1889, written by Lord Meath, advocating Open Spaces, Boulevards, Pure Water, Covered Streets, and Public Bands, for the Metropolis."

"Never," replied Sir Titus, "and do you mean that this Park is a result of that single article?"

"Not only this Park, which stretches from the Thames, by Blackfriars Bridge to King's Cross, but the general transformation of London into a City where life is a pleasure for all classes, is due to the initiative of Lord Meath, and the energetic action of the London County Council, which came into existence the very year that the article I have mentioned was written."

"Dear me!" said the Colonist, "I hardly know where I am. Take me to some place I can remember. Take me to Regent Street." They set off on foot, and soon were pacing along a broad thoroughfare running westward, planted with trees on either side, and ornamented here and there with tasteful kiosques, where light refreshments and still lighter literature were on sale at an extremely reasonable price. Whenever they felt tired they could sit down on elegant and comfortable seats, under glass awnings, and at frequent intervals bands of native musicians were discoursing excellent music on stringed instruments.

"These bands, now," said the Colonial visitor, "who pays for them? Is it some philanthropic society?"

"It is Society in general, sir," his companion rejoined, "which has unquestionably become of late very philanthropic. This, and other public improvements, have been provided for partly out of the rates, but still more out of an extremely moderate and equitable tax, placed on Metropolitan Ground Landlords, and representing a very small part of the enhanced value which their

property gains during every year that London continues to exist and grow bigger."

"Dear me!" said the Antipodean Statesman, regretfully, "I wish I had thought of that plan in the South West Windward Islands. Pay for Improvements out of the pockets of the Ratepayers and Ground Landlords; a case of ground landlords and ground tenants, in fact. An excellent notion! By the bye, what is the name of this street—or rather avenue?"

"Holborn, sir."

"Holborn! What! That narrow dirty ill-conditioned——"

"No other, sir, I assure you," replied his conductor, coolly. The ex-Premier was too surprised to say anything, and continued silent till they reached a broad open space where fountains and operatic bands were both playing, and from which four magnificent roads diverged.

"What is that noble arcade-like street covered over with glass, and adorned with evergreen shrubs and the electric light?" asked the dazed Colonist.

"That, sir? Surely you have not forgotten Regent Street?"

"Regent Street turned into an arcade!"

"Yes. The whole of London is more or less Arcadian," rejoined the satellite.

"You must be very grateful to Lord Meath for all this," said Sir Titus, thoughtfully.

"Grateful is not the word, sir. A new and much finer Westminster Abbey has recently been erected, solely out of penny contributions from the working-classes, to which the remains of Lord Meath, the Editor of the *Nineteenth Century* and the Chairman of the London County Council, will all be consigned when those great benefactors of their race are unhappily no more."

"Dear me!" exclaimed the Colonist. "And you—

you talk remarkably well for a person hired by the day to escort visitors about. Where were you educated ? "

" Where everybody who desires to make the most of his opportunities receives his education nowadays," replied the Cicerone, proudly. " At a polytechnic."

" Polytechnic ! What in the name of wonder is that ? "

" Nobody but a Polynesian could ask the question, sir," and receiving his modest remuneration, the Cicerone retired for two hours' private reading into the nearest Free Library, while Sir Titus Macduff stood in a state of bewilderment gazing on the beauties of regenerated London.

OPEN SPACES AND GARDENS

1895

NOTE BY LORD MEATH

In 1895 I introduced a Bill, to amend the Museums and Gymnasiums Act of 1891. The object of the Bill was to enable an urban authority to provide and maintain winter gardens.

I was fortunate enough to get this Bill passed its second reading, but it was lost in a further stage of its passage through the Lords.

A GREEN GIRDLE ROUND LONDON

1901

NOTE BY LORD MEATH

My father having died in 1887, I wrote in July 1901, over the signature of Meath, the following article to the *Sphere :*

" Mr William J. Bull, M.P., has done good service in urging on the public notice, through the influential

medium of your columns, the desirability of connecting the outer open spaces of London by one great thirty-five mile circle of green sward and trees.

Eleven years ago, after a visit to the United States of America, in a report which, as Chairman of the Parks Committee of the London County Council, I prepared for the benefit of my colleagues, I drew attention to the magnificent boulevards and parkways which were being formed in many transatlantic cities to unite their parks and open spaces ; and after drawing particular attention to Chicago, which at that time had boldly surrounded itself with a system of boulevards some twenty-two miles in length, long portions of which then ran through the open country, I remarked that ' London might do worse than take the example of Chicago to heart and unite some of the suburban parks and open spaces by broad sylvan avenues and approaches.'

Since then the advancing tide of bricks and mortar has reached the portion of Chicago's belt of green which at that time passed through the open country, but it has not been able to overflow it. There it remains, a monument to the foresight of the former rulers of that city. Mr C. M. Robinson in his lately published work, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities*, says that Chicago (now) ' comprises seven large parks, three on the lake front, one to the south, and three to the west, and all connected by broad parkways or boulevards of which almost the last links have been constructed. The parks are all beautiful, and the encircling drive, now a boulevard lined with magnificent detached dwellings and now a parkway more than 400 ft. broad, will be when complete possibly the finest of its kind in the world.'

Would that one hundred or more, or even eleven years ago the same foresight had characterised the municipal government of London ! If wisdom had been found in

those days in the seats of the mighty, London might for a comparatively trifling sum of money have for all time been furnished with a green girdle, some thirty-five miles in length and some mile or half mile in width, uniting all her principal suburban parks and open spaces. Even now it is not too late, but the sum required to effect the purchase of such a connecting link is vastly larger than that which would have been needed in those days, and every year the price becomes larger and the space to be enclosed by the girdle becomes of necessity more extended and more congested.

Will not the London County Council, which has done so much for open spaces, and has shown such an enlightened interest in their preservation, unite with the other metropolitan authorities before it is too late and make a supreme effort to furnish London with a green girdle linking the existing parks with one continuous chain of verdure ?

In order to show what was being done in the United States in this direction as long ago as 1890, perhaps it may not be out of place to quote from the above-mentioned report :

' In almost all the American cities I visited I found marked activity in the formation of boulevards on a truly magnificent scale. With wise foresight these boulevards are being made with a view to the future development of the cities, and in the confident belief that the present outlay within a few years will be a source of municipal wealth by the increase in value of rateable areas. New York possesses over twenty miles of shaded boulevards, some of them 150 ft. in width. Brooklyn justly prides itself on its splendid avenue formed of four rows of trees consisting of a roadway, a riding and a walking path of 5½ miles long and 270 ft. wide, containing 180 acres of ground, called " Ocean Parkway," its " Coney Island

Concourse" facing the ocean, 2750 ft. long by 1000 ft. wide, and its "Eastern Parkway," 2½ miles long by 270 ft. wide, on the opposite side of the city, containing 82 acres of land.'

London now possesses 124 churchyards and disused burial grounds open to the public, and 239 parks, gardens, recreation, and playgrounds, making a total of 363 open spaces, varying in size from Epping Forest with its 5375 acres to small playgrounds in the heart of the City of a rood, or sometimes even less than a rood in size. There are still 168 disused burial grounds closed to the public which it is to be hoped may some day be turned into smiling gardens. It would be impossible to join all these together, but there is no reason why the open spaces in the less crowded part of the municipal area and a few outside the London County district should not still be united by parkways as is done so extensively in the United States of America.

Taking Charing Cross as the centre, the spaces included in the above 'girdle' form roughly an oval ring following the configuration of the County of London, its larger diameter lying east and west, at a distance of eight or nine miles from the centre, and its smaller diameter north and south, at a distance of five or six miles from the centre. Several important public spaces which I have not mentioned, e.g. Bushey Park, Hackney Marshes, Hilly Fields, etc., abut upon or are close to the 'girdle,' either outside or inside, and would form desirable adjuncts thereto.

If a metropolitan member of Parliament, or a member of the Corporation of London, London County Council, or of a metropolitan borough council would take the matter seriously in hand and make the creation of such a continuous girdle of open space around London the object of his life, he would confer an everlasting benefit

on his fellow-citizens and would hand down to posterity a memorial of his exertions which would probably be more permanent than if the grateful city were to build an Eiffel Tower in his honour."

1901

THE BROAD SANCTUARY, WESTMINSTER

On the 16th July, 1901, I got the Government to consent to open to the public a portion of the enclosure in Broad Sanctuary opposite Westminster Abbey where the statue of Canning is erected.

XVII

MISCELLANEOUS

INDIAN PRINCES—INVESTITURE—SOUTH AFRICA—HOW BRITONS CAN SAVE MONEY—MINESWEEPERS AND KAPOK

1894

SHALL INDIAN PRINCES SIT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS?

IN May, 1894, I published the following article which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*:

"We are all aware of the lightning-like rapidity with which in these modern days the thoughts of mankind are flashed from one end of the civilised world to the other, but there are few who realise how great is the influence of these ideas in countries where we least expect it to be felt. Of course we know that Japan has astonished the world by the sudden manner in which, within the space of a few years, it has thrown off the garments of an Eastern civilisation, and both literally and metaphorically has adopted the ill-fitting garb of a Western constitutional monarchy. But we look upon Japan as the exception which proves the rule, and we are apt to point to China and India as countries which for generations may yet be expected to present an impenetrable front to the attacks of modern thought.

No doubt in one sense this is perfectly true. It will probably take many generations before the 300 millions

of people who inhabit India have so thoroughly turned their backs on the customs and thoughts which have come down to them from remote antiquity as to be open to the influence of the West, but not the less is it a fact that the India of to-day is not the India of fifty or even of twenty-five years ago. A gradual but steady change of thought is taking place in the minds of the growing class of educated natives. They form at present an infinitesimally small proportion of the population, but education is spreading, and as it spreads so will it leaven with Western ideas an ever-larger number of India's teeming millions. These changes in thought and action are not confined solely to those portions of India which are directly under British rule, but are to be witnessed in some native states, the rulers of which have been educated and brought up under the ideas which they imbibed in their youth. Some of these native princes are gentlemen of high culture and intellect, speaking English without the slightest accent, keenly alive to all that is passing in the world, and sincerely desirous of governing their territories both wisely and justly. Several of them have widened their minds by travel, have visited Great Britain, been presented to their Empress, and have made themselves acquainted with other portions of the vast Empire over which her rule extends. Many more would follow their example if it were not for the hindrances which the caste system throws in their way. These are difficulties, however, which will annually diminish, as more and more of the princes and nobility of India follow the example thus set them, and break loose from a bondage which, in the case of several of them, has ceased to recommend itself to their intelligence. Many of these men possess wealth and local influence, but, owing to the system of Indian administration, are debarred from taking any part in public affairs outside

their own dominions. What I have said of some independent native rulers applies in a lesser degree to the rajahs whose territories lie within those portions of India which are directly subject to the British Crown. Deprived of all opportunities of exercising their talents, their influence, their wealth, and their energies in the public service, is it wonderful that some of them should become listless sensualists or discontented idlers ?

It must be apparent to every thinking man that, however much local government may gradually be developed in India, it is entirely out of the question that Great Britain, at all events for many years to come, should even consider seriously the idea of admitting to her Parliament any representative elected by the people of India ; and yet I think there can be no doubt that it would conduce greatly to the advantage both of Hindoostan and of Great Britain could an arrangement be made with safety to the interests of the Empire, by means of which it would be possible for some of India's sons to raise their voices in the Imperial Parliament, even though they should express none but their own individual opinions.

Now, although it may not be possible to admit representatives of the people of India into the Commons House of Parliament, what should hinder the Crown from summoning to seats in the Upper House some of the most distinguished natives of Hindoostan ?

Many, doubtless, are the arguments which will be brought against the proposition which I have made, and most of the following have already been suggested. It will be said: 1. That the princes and rajahs of India would not desire such an honour. 2. That they would not consider it an honour. 3. That they are not fitted by character or education to take part in the government of a great Empire. 4. That they in no way represent the people of India. 5. That even if they accepted the

honours of a peerage they would never leave India or attend Parliament. 6. That if they did, they would lose caste, be degraded in the eyes of their people, and their influence amongst them would be diminished. 7. That if they came to Europe they would lose Eastern virtues, learn Western vices, and return to India morally and physically degraded. 8. That it would create endless jealousies and heartburnings. 9. That either they would speak and vote in the House exactly in the sense they considered would be pleasing to the Government of the day in order to obtain further honours at its hands, or else they would utilise their position to give vent to race, religious or class jealousies and enmities, or to further their own selfish interests in opposition to those of the people at large. 10. That the admission of Indian princes and nobles to the House of Lords would vastly increase the difficulties which the authorities at present have to contend with in the government of India. 11. That it would be impossible, without causing offence, to regulate the precedency in Parliament of the native princes and rajahs both amongst themselves and in their relation to the British peers. 12. That no recognised body of nobles exists in India, and that if the suggestions were carried out of recommending to the Crown, by means of a system of election, the names of certain magnates as life peers, it would be very difficult if not impossible to draw up a list of rajahs and princes whose position would justify their being entrusted with the responsibility of recommending some of their number to the Crown for the honours of the peerage.

Let us take the above objections seriatim and consider their value.

Whatever may be the opinion of the majority of the princes and rajahs of India, the only two with whom I have spoken on this subject both expressed themselves

as pleased with the idea. They are semi-independent sovereigns, their dominions are widely separated from each other, and one of them, if not the most powerful, is one of the wealthiest of native rulers. Notwithstanding the fact that these princes rule their subjects without other interference from Great Britain than that exercised by the British Agents resident at their courts, and that the territories of the more important of the two are larger than some European countries, they both regarded the idea from a personal point of view, and would evidently welcome the possession of seats in the House of Lords as an honour and a privilege so long as the acceptance of such a position did not involve any abdication of their present semi-independent sovereign rights.

If the doors of Parliament are to be closed to all who cannot bring satisfactory certificates of proficiency in the art of governing, I fear a not insignificant proportion of the existing members of both Houses will have to make up their minds to resign their seats, and I am afraid that certain disclosures made in recent years have shown that neither House can boast that men of dubious character are entirely unknown within its walls. If Indian princes ever sit in the Imperial Parliament, whatever be the principle of selection, whether they are summoned by writ on the recommendation of the Government, or whether they are chosen, like the Irish and Scotch representative peers, by the votes of their fellows, it is most unlikely that the disreputable and the incapable will be selected. In either case it will be the interest of those in whose hands rests the responsibility of nomination to choose the men who will do the greatest credit to the Empire and to their order, and whose elevation will redound to the honour of India.

The proper answer to the fourth argument of my hypothetical objector is that the House of Lords lays no

claim to be representative of the people either of Great Britain or of Hindoostan, and that if the princes and rajahs could in any political sense be said to represent India their proper place would be in the Lower and not in the Upper House of Parliament. The fifth, sixth, and seventh objections may be taken together. There are doubtless still many natives of high caste and rank who conscientiously object to cross the ocean ; but this superstition is rapidly dying out, and many of the most important princes of India have successfully overcome the prejudices engendered by religion and caste, and have repeatedly visited Great Britain and Europe. Without doubt also only those princes would be recommended to the Crown for a life peerage who were willing to visit occasionally the capital of the Empire, and to take their part in the labours of the House of Lords. The means of communication between India and Great Britain are now so perfected that it takes a man no longer to reach Bombay from London than it often took our fathers and grandfathers to journey to Dublin. When my father was a boy at Eton the Irish lads were always granted an extra fortnight's holiday, in consideration of the time it took, or was supposed to take, to reach home, whilst now a man can transfer himself from England to India in a fortnight plus one day.

It is possible that Eastern magnates visiting Europe might learn some Western vices, but unless we are prepared to acknowledge that Christianity and civilisation have failed in their missions, we surely may be justified in entertaining the hope that some of these Orientals might return to their homes with characters strengthened and improved by the acquisition of Western virtues.

The conferring of honours, whether at home or abroad, sometimes leads to jealousy and heartburnings, but we do not consider this a valid reason for discontinuing the

practice, nor is there any cause to believe that the creation of native life peers would be more conducive to discord than is at present, say, the distribution amongst the same class of the order of the Star of India.

In answer to the ninth objection, why should we imagine that native princes holding seats in the Upper House for life would either be so weak as only to vote as the Indian authorities desired, or so selfish and ignorant as to use their position exclusively for their own personal interests, or for those of their own race, order, or religion ?

The presence in the House of Lords of half a dozen or of a dozen Indian princes, granting them to be all as weak and as selfish as the objection presupposes, would not endanger the British Constitution. The only result of such conduct on their part would be that they would forfeit the respect of their colleagues and consequently deprive themselves of all influence in the Upper House, and possibly run the risk of forcing the Crown to decline to create any new native peers as vacancies occurred in their number.

The answer to the tenth objection is that the arm of the British Government, especially in India, is long and powerful, and that if a native prince misbehaved, the fact of his presence in the House of Lords would not prevent the Government from visiting him with the punishment which might be his due.

I do not regard the eleventh and twelfth objections as serious. If on general grounds the creation of Indian life peers be considered advisable, ways and means could easily be found of surmounting the difficulties suggested, which after all are only matters of arrangement and detail. For instance, if it were thought desirable that the Crown should be partly or entirely guided in its choice of life peers by the votes of the magnates of India, the difficulty of deciding on the several claims of princes and rajahs

to be included in the electoral body could easily be settled by confining the right of voting within the ranks of those to whom the British Government have already accorded the much-esteemed honour of being received on state occasions with an artillery salute.

With respect to precedency, the native prince or rajah would in the House have to accept the position due to the rank accorded him as a peer of Parliament, irrespective of any higher title he might possess, in the same way as Irish or Scotch peers, who are also peers of the United Kingdom, often in the House sit by titles inferior in dignity to those under which they are known in their own countries.

The addition of a dozen or of half a dozen life peers to the Imperial Parliament could not possibly do harm, and the direct identification of India with the governing powers at home might be the means of awakening a genuine feeling of loyalty to the Crown and Empire amongst powerful and influential classes in Hindoostan, some members of which at present, if not hostile, are indifferent and not seldom discontented.

The people of Great Britain, absorbed in their own local concerns and politics, are apt to forget that they are citizens of a world-wide Empire, that Her Majesty is not only Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, but also Empress of India, that she rules over more Mahomedan subjects than the Sultan of Turkey, and that the Hindoos who owe her allegiance are greater in number than the whole of her Christian subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape.

There are few Britons who would not welcome some practical step towards the fulfilment of the popular idea of Imperial Unity, if not of Federation, and here is a decided step which might be taken in that direction. What should hinder the Crown from summoning to the Upper Chamber the most distinguished sons, not only

of India, but of the Empire?—and thus there might gradually be collected within the walls of Parliament a veritable 'Bundesrath,' or Imperial Council—a nucleus of men versed in affairs, brought together from every part of the Empire, indigenous to their respective soils, whose opinions would have weight in the Assembly of the nation, and whose influence in their own countries would conduce towards unity and harmony of sentiment and action throughout the entire extent of Her Majesty's dominions."

DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

1901

In 1901 I introduced into the House of Lords a "Day Industrial Schools (Ireland) Bill" to enable Day Industrial Schools to be established in Ireland.

The object of the Bill was to authorise the establishment of Day Industrial Schools in Ireland similar to those in England.

English magistrates at that time could send to industrial schools children brought before them as truants by the school authority. Irish magistrates possessed no such power.

The Bill was read a second time and passed the House of Lords, but was ultimately lost in the Commons.

INVESTITURE, 1905

On my investiture as a Knight of St Patrick in 1905, the *Irish Times* published the following:

"THE EARL OF MEATH.

"There are few noblemen in the United Kingdom who have been more prominently identified with philanthropic work than the newly appointed Knight of St Patrick.

For a long number of years past, both with voice and pen, he has strenuously directed the attention of the nation to the pressing needs of the crowded population in our large towns and cities, and repeatedly pointed out the serious dangers engendered by the deplorable conditions under which so many people have to live, and to his efforts must be attributed in no small measure the public awakening to the importance of these matters which has been so conspicuous a feature in the history of recent times. Fully a quarter of a century ago, when the necessity for such reforms received but scant attention, Lord Meath's name was honourably associated with every project which had for its object the improvement of the social life of the people, and to-day his work entitles him to rank with the great Lord Shaftesbury, whose ability, energy, and enthusiasm fitted him so well for the position he long and worthily occupied as one of the greatest leaders of philanthropic effort which the nineteenth century has produced.

In Parliament Lord Meath has accomplished a great amount of legislation of a most beneficial character. He has been associated with the passing into law of all the Acts passed in recent years for the acquirement of open spaces and also with such useful measures as the Custody of Children Act, and the Objectionable Advertisements Act. He brought into Parliament two years running a Bill to make physical exercises compulsory in all State-aided schools in towns of over 17,000, but the Bill was rejected on each occasion. However, in the third year it was adopted by the Government and embodied in the education code for England without any restriction. He then obtained the appointment of an inter-Departmental Committee and a code of drill and exercises was drawn up which is now practically compulsory in all elementary schools under a War Office

official paid by the Education Department. After frequent efforts he obtained important alterations in the education course with regard to the teaching of needlework, history, and geography, and he also was the means of getting a special committee appointed to consider the subject of the physical condition of the people, the latter forming the subject of an interesting report which has recently been issued. Through his efforts two State-aided emigrant 'colonies' were established in Canada, and £10,000 were voted for their upkeep, but the Government did not emigrate a suitable class of people, and the success of the scheme was in consequence only partial. The Day Industrial Schools (Ireland) Bill was one of the measures he introduced into the House of Lords, where it passed through all its stages, but unfortunately this useful scheme was rejected by the House of Commons. He also introduced a Women's County Councillors Bill to enable women to sit on the County Councils, and a Bill to enable these councils to erect winter gardens (covered) and gymnasia, but both measures were rejected by the Upper House.

The Disused Burial Grounds Act, which prevents the building of houses on disused cemeteries, is another measure with which his name is closely identified.

For six years he occupied the position of an Alderman in London. He was the first Chairman of the Parks Committee of the London County Council, and by his exertions Brockwell Park near Herne Hill was purchased for the use of the public at a cost of £122,000, and subsequently enlarged at a further expenditure of £66,700. He found time to visit America to enquire into the establishment of public parks in that country and his report, which furnished very valuable information, was subsequently published by the London County Council.

His social work is of especial interest in Ireland. He was the founder of the Dublin Hospital Sunday Fund, which has been the means of affording so much assistance to these deserving public institutions. The annual collections amount to about £4000, and the work owes much to his encouragement and practical sympathy. He was the first Hon. Secretary (jointly with others) of the London Hospital Saturday Fund, which collects annually about £28,000. The work of organising this fund put a severe strain upon his health, occasioning a complete breakdown, and from the effects of the strain he has never fully recovered. He also founded the London Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, and as a result of the efforts of this body the open spaces in London have been doubled in numbers in recent years. The Association has laid out and opened some 106 grounds with an area of about 150 acres at a cost of £50,000, besides assisting numerous other projects of the kind, planting thousands of trees, and placing thousands of seats in the thoroughfares. He is also President of the Church Army, of the Social Service Union, and of the British Institute of Social Service.

Lord Meath combines all these activities with a considerable amount of literary work. He is the author of that well-known book, *Social Arrows*, which deals in trenchant style with the necessity for open spaces in cities, the evils and remedies of our population, the miseries of overworked shop assistants, and the social wants of London. It also contains special appeals to men of wealth, and leisure, to assist in philanthropic work, and points out the need of national, industrial, and technical training, and includes some suggestive chapters on women's work and the welfare of young men. In collaboration with the Countess of Meath, he subsequently published *Social Aims*, which also deals with other

desirable Parliamentary and social reforms. *Our Empire Past and Present*, a work now passing through the press, is another patriotic effort of his pen. He has also edited a number of books dealing with pauperism and school board reforms, and in all these matters is worthily following in the footsteps of his father, who generously founded the two Meath Industrial Schools, one for boys at Blackrock and the other for girls at Bray. The Countess of Meath generously and graciously supports her distinguished husband in his work, and to her exertions may be attributed the many improvements which have been made in their Dublin Estate.

Lord Meath is also a Privy Councillor, Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the City and County of Dublin, a D.L. and J.P. for County Wicklow, Honorary Colonel of the 5th Royal Dublin Fusiliers, and for a time occupied a secretarial post in the Diplomatic Service."

1910

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

On May 30th, 1910, on the eve of the Union of South Africa I sent the following message :

" Success to the Union of South Africa, forming with united Canada and united Australia, a triple bond of federated nations within the bounds of the British Empire : an important historical event, hastening materially the advent of an organised universal Imperial Union under the gracious sovereignty of His Majesty the King whom may God preserve."

HOW BRITONS CAN SAVE MONEY

By the Earl of Meath

July, 1915

"If democracy, and not militarism, is to win this war it is imperative that Britons should supply men, munitions, and money.

The more we spend on munitions, the smaller will be our casualty lists. Money, therefore, must be spent like water on all that helps to shorten the war.

But there are many directions in which the strictest economy must be exercised. At the moment, in the conduct of the war alone, we are spending £3,000,000 daily, or £1,095,000,000 a year.

The mass of this enormous amount of money is derived from loans on which the nation has to pay interest. The last loan of £600,000,000 which has just been raised has to be paid for at the rate of 4½ per cent per annum.

This is the second loan which has been raised for war purposes within ten months, the two loans together reaching the huge figures of nearly one thousand millions. This is a record in the world of borrowing.

As we are fighting for national life, as well as for the preservation of our own homes, the honour of our women, and for all that makes life worth living to free men—such as civilisation, liberty, and freedom—it is impossible for us to think of peace until, in conjunction with our Allies, we have utterly defeated the forces of militarism and rendered them incapable for many a long year of again plotting the subjugation of the peoples of the world and the crushing of democracy under the iron heel of a ruthless and inhuman tyranny.

The best military experts and the wisest political

thinkers agree that this war may continue for at least one or two or even three or more years. The American Civil War lasted for seven years, when it was not at first expected to last more than as many weeks.

It would be well, therefore, to give up all idea of the quick termination of the present war, and instead, prepare for an ever-increasing national expenditure.

The Prime Minister has lately warned us that we must no longer continue to send good British gold abroad to purchase luxuries and that even in such articles as tea, sugar, tobacco, and petrol we must learn to reduce expenditure.

Even in the case of home-made goods such as beer, he recommends a wholesome diminution of expenditure, principally as thereby a larger number of men will be free to undertake munition work or to offer their services at the front.

Motor bicycles, motor-cars, and all vehicles propelled by the consumption of petrol should be heavily taxed, unless *bona fide* employed in commercial, agricultural, industrial, and professional work, or placed under the control of the naval and military authorities for national purposes.

Daily one sees many owners of motor-cars and motor cycles speeding along and burning petrol as though it was as cheap as air and was as equally inexhaustible. Yet petrol is playing a great part in this war, and will do much towards winning the war. It is therefore absolutely imperative that this foolish waste of petrol must cease.

Again, owners of motor-cars by paying high wages are keeping young and active-bodied chauffeurs from joining the forces as transport drivers and motor repairers, or from enlisting in the great army of munition makers. And we must not forget that this unnecessary journeying about uselessly damages roads and entails calls upon the

ratepayers' pockets at a time when every penny it is possible to save should be saved.

All young men of military age employed in civil labour should be subject to an extra special tax such as is now paid by the employers of male domestic servants.

By some such measures those who shirk their obvious duties to the State, and those who in time of national stress place private comfort or luxury before State obligations, would be made to recognise their shortcomings and would be compelled to assist towards the lightening of the unavoidable and gigantic war burdens of the nation."

1918

MINE-SWEEPERS AND KAPOK

By the late Countess of Meath

On January 29th, 1918, the last public letter written by my wife appeared in the columns of the Press under the title of " Mine-Sweepers."

She was then extremely weak and ill from heart trouble and only lived for 9 months and 4 days after this last public effort to benefit the brave sailors of whom she was so proud, and of whom she was always thinking.

She may be said, then, to have died in harness as she always expressed a desire to do.

She wrote :

" Last autumn, when Lord Meath and I were in Ireland, I obtained a most ready response to the request to supply men employed at mine-sweeping with 'kapok' waistcoats. These garments have proved of great value to the fortunate recipients as the vegetable wool with which they are lined is, on account of its buoyancy, not only life-saving in case of immersion, but also it is very warm.

A naval officer to whom some hundreds of waistcoats have been sent, writes, 'The weather has been very severe and the warmth of the waistcoats has probably saved colds and lung troubles, which were severe last year.'

Not only have these men and others been helped through the kindness of workers, but apparently the attention of naval authorities has been drawn to the value of 'kapok' for mine-sweepers. Anyway, the Admiralty has now ordered 100,000 of these life-saving waistcoats; consequently when this large order can be duly executed the needs of the men in this respect are likely to be well supplied.

There are, however, other seamen who have been behaving with the utmost gallantry and saving our country from want and famine—namely, the merchant seamen. They are certainly not able to stand exposure better than those employed in the Royal Navy, and for them the cost of a kapok waistcoat is excessive (about 13s.), so they, too, need help. A warm, serviceable garment can be made, by voluntary workers, for approximately half the money, but such waistcoats are best made at the depots or working parties presided over by some experienced responsible person, for if the 'kapok' is not properly distributed, not only might it prove not life-saving to a man in the water, but even a source of danger to him. A good pattern and careful examination of the garments before they are sent out is consequently imperative. Several centres are at work for mine-sweepers in Ireland. It was most interesting to learn that in one Irish hospital for wounded soldiers the patients had been employing their leisure in making these waistcoats. If men who have faced death and suffering for their country's sake can yet give up their time to help the sailors, surely more persons living in peace and comfort,

because gallant deeds are performed, might wish to come forward and offer a little protection from danger to brave and deserving men. Ladies who are willing most kindly to assist by forming centres of work for this purpose or by utilising associations already in existence can obtain patterns and directions for making the waistcoats on application to Mrs Edgar, Killruddery, Bray, Co Wicklow."

XVIII

NATIONAL HYGIENE

1899

IN 1899 I presided over a meeting to hear an address from Sir William Richmond on the Public Health Act, 1891, relating to smoke abatement. The efforts of this Society resulted in a marked diminution of the smoke nuisance.

Next year, in 1900, the following questions having been publicly asked of representative men :

1. Do you regard the method of growth of our great Cities as satisfactory ?

2. Have you any practical suggestions to make in regard to the above ?

I answered :

" 1. There should be more effective municipal control than is usually exercised over the erection of new buildings, in regard especially to the manner in which drains are laid from private houses to the main drain, showing the drains, water, and gas pipes, etc. Plans of all the houses should be deposited in some easily accessible municipal building in each district of every large city and in the Town Hall of smaller towns.

It should be compulsory on every householder to notify any material alteration or improvement in the drains or pipes of his house to the municipal authority, and the deposited plan of the house should be altered accordingly.

These plans should be open to inspection by the public at all reasonable hours.

Every street in a town should be provided with a subway in which all pipes and wires should be placed, so that the roadway need not be continually broken up in order to repair them.

2. (b) Whenever possible, trees should be planted in the streets, and care should be taken to provide the trees with good soil and iron guards, and to keep their roots from all contact with gas pipes."

NATIONAL HYGIENE AND PHYSICAL TRAINING

1903

I moved in the House of Lords on July 6th, 1903, "to draw the attention of H.M.'s Government to the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland, and to the Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting, in which it was stated that 'the one subject which causes anxiety in the future, as regards recruiting, is the gradual deterioration of the physique of the working classes, from which the bulk of the recruits must always be drawn,' and to ask H.M.'s Government, whether they would be prepared to issue a Royal Commission, or a Committee of Enquiry, with a view of ascertaining whether the poorer populations in our large towns are exposed to conditions which, if continued, must inevitably contribute to a low national standard of physical health and strength, seeing that if such be the case, it would constitute a grave national peril." I said "that the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland declared that there existed in Scotland 'an undeniable degeneration' in certain classes. There was

every reason to believe that that degeneration was not confined to Scotland ; and the question became one of the most important of our social problems. In 1851 the urban population of England and Wales was 8,990,000 out of a population of 17,927,000, or 50 per cent. In 1891 it was 25,000,000 out of a total population of 32,000,000 or seventy-seven per cent. An urban population was not necessarily of inferior physique ; but the conditions in that case must be favourable, and were enjoyed only by certain classes. I quoted statistics, to show the difference in physical attributes between the children of the rich and the children of the poor, the offspring of the rich being taller and heavier, as the result of better feeding and of more care. I asserted that personally I would never rest satisfied until I could be shown that it was impossible in this matter to draw any distinction between the rich and the poor. Much remained to be done before we could hope to obtain in this country even a moderate standard of physical development amongst the population in the poorer districts. It had been stated, on high authority, that there was not to be found a fourth generation of pure Londoners. In other words, unless Londoners were recruited from the country, the population must inevitably die out. Even in the country things were not all that could be desired in this respect. If a better standard was to be reached, not one or two departments but all departments of the Government, and the people, must put their shoulders to the wheel, and insist on having the conditions of life changed." I was supported by the Bishop of Ripon in one of his eloquent speeches. The Duke of Devonshire, however, on the part of the Government, said that they were not yet in possession of all the material facts, and did not think it advisable to appoint a Royal Commission until the scope of its enquiry and the terms of reference had been carefully considered,

and so the subject dropped. But the discussion did good, for although the Government did not accede to my request for a Royal Commission, the Duke of Devonshire said that the Secretary for War and the Home Secretary had conferred with the medical profession through the Councils of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, as to the causes of what the Duke termed the " undoubted physical deficiency existing in some part of the population," and as to the best means of remedying it. This led to the appointment in September of an official Committee to conduct an enquiry into the alleged physical deterioration among certain classes of the people, and so my object was partly attained.

1905

NATIONAL HEALTH

The following article appeared from my pen in *Womanhood* in 1905, entitled :

" How to Improve National Health and Physique.

" Among earthly blessings there is none greater than the possession of physical health and strength, but how few there are that give serious thought to the subject. As soon as we become conscious that the wheels of the machinery of life are running heavily, generally through our own negligence, we rush to the professional repairer, and are willing to pay heavily for assistance which can only be temporary, if we neglect to alter the causes which have occasioned the evil. How much wiser it would be if, individually and collectively, we would make a study of the laws which lead to health or disease, and, as far as circumstances permit, would regulate our lives in accordance with them !

Let us consider what are the subjects a knowledge of which leads, if properly applied, to an increase in physical health. Surely these are hygiene, sanitation, physiology, dietetics, cookery, and housewifery. Of course, it would be foolish to attempt to teach children more than the mere elements of some of these subjects, but the general principles which underlie the preservation of health might well occupy the attention of teachers and scholars for a reasonable number of hours in each year. If we look through the branches of knowledge studied by our children at school, how seldom do we come across any subjects which may be of use to them in after years in assisting them to preserve their bodies in health; and when these subjects are taught, how thinly attended are the classes. Why is this? It is due in a large measure to lack of teachers qualified to instruct in these matters, to incapacity at headquarters to understand the real needs of the people, and in no small degree on the part of the parents to a misapprehension of the present conditions of life.

Twenty-five years ago only about half the population lived in urban districts, now the proportion is three-quarters—that is to say three persons now live in urban to one who lives in a rural district. It is a well-known axiom of hygienic science that the ill-health of a population, other things being equal, is in inverse ratio to its density; in plain English, other things being equal, a population crowded together is more unhealthy than one that is scattered. The British people are becoming daily more crowded together, and hence, unless some steps are taken, and that soon, to counteract the effects of undue concentration, the national health must inevitably suffer.

What are the steps which can be taken? They are many and various, but we may mention a few:

1. Every effort should be made to counteract all unnecessary increase of towns, and, when possible, new factories or industries should be established in, and old ones transferred to, the country.

2. Care should be taken that all towns should be furnished with a sufficient number of parks, and especially with a large number of small playgrounds, fitted with gymnastic apparatus, and under the charge of caretakers, and so placed that no workman's house should, if possible, be more than a quarter of a mile from such a ground.

3. Children should be taught the rudiments of hygiene, sanitation, and physiology, so as to have some slight knowledge of the causes of disease, and the means which can be taken to avoid it.

4. They should, by cookery classes in schools, be shown how to obtain the largest amount of nourishment with the smallest expenditure on food; what kinds of food are wholesome; and how food should be cooked so as to make it not only palatable, but easily digested, and consequently nourishing.

5. They should be taught self-restraint, in order to learn when they grow up how to rule themselves, and how to place a bridle on their appetites and passions, and on those indulgences which are harmful to health.

6. The muscles and lungs of the children, and their general bearing, should be improved by physical exercise and drill; and it should be the duty of the educational authorities to see that, while attending school, the children are properly fed. The authorities should be empowered also to bring the parents to account if they neglect their natural duties.

7. The girls should be taught, by housewifery classes, how to make a home clean, wholesome, bright, and

attractive, and as so many have to act as nurses from their earliest years, the proper way of feeding and tending infants.

Such matters are of the utmost importance to the working classes of Great Britain. They affect their daily lives, and their personal health, which, in the case of many, is their only capital. Working men and women should, therefore, bestir themselves to see that these vital questions are carefully considered in their interests by municipal and educational authorities. Let it be once known that the working classes are alive to the necessity of their children being trained in school in such a way as to develop their bodies, to render them capable of enjoying life, of becoming useful citizens, and of producing a healthy generation to succeed them, and it will not be long before their elected servants, the members of Municipalities, County Councils, and Educational Committees, will find ways of putting a stop to the lamentable drain on the vitality of the nation which is daily taking place.

If it be questioned whether it be a fact that the British people are deteriorating in physique, how comes it, as has often been stated in the public press without contradiction, that during the war in South Africa, out of 11,000 men who offered themselves from Manchester only 3000 could be accepted as recruits owing to physical defects, and that of these 3000 only 1000 were found fit to be sent abroad to fight the battles of their country?

But, indeed, statistics are not necessary. We only require to go into the more crowded parts of our large towns, and to use our eyes, in order to perceive how weak, stunted, and ill-formed are many of the young men and young women who are to be found in their midst. 'It is somewhat depressing,' said the *Daily Graphic*, 'to learn from good authority that, although the British

recruit before the late war about equalled the German in height, his weight, the surer criterion of physical strength and stamina, was considerably less.' This statement may indeed be characterised as 'depressing,' but if it be true, it is well that we should know it in order that we may live in no fools' paradise, but may be able without loss of time to take effective steps to bring about a condition of affairs less hurtful to our pride and more in keeping with the popular, but at present fallacious, notion of the physical superiority of the Briton. The Royal Commission for Scotland on Physical Training has borne important witness to the unsatisfactory physical state of the Scotch people, and has suggested remedies which it is hoped the Government and the local authorities will not be slow in adopting; but if the condition of the people of Scotland be so bad, we may be sure that that of the people of England and Wales, of whom over 12,000,000 are crowded into forty-two cities, with an average population of over 270,000 each, must be still worse.

As it is of the greatest importance that nothing should be left to conjecture in so important a matter, the Government would be well advised to follow the precedent they have set themselves in the case of Scotland, and appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the physical condition of the people of England and Wales. The terms of reference to the Scotch Commission might well be adopted, *mutatis mutandis*, as those under which the English Commission might be instructed to act—namely, 'To enquire into the opportunities for physical training now available in the State-aided schools, and other educational institutions of Scotland, and to suggest means by which such training may be made to conduce to the welfare of the pupils; and further, how such opportunities may be increased by continuation classes and otherwise, so as to

develop, in their practical application to the requirements of life, the faculties of those who have left the day schools, and thus to contribute towards the sources of national strength.'

In the meantime the people of Great Britain, and especially the working classes living in our large cities, who compose that portion of our population which is the most directly interested in the subject, should bestir themselves, and use all the legitimate influence they possess to impress Members of Parliament, Corporations, Town and County Councillors, Educational Authorities and others, of the urgent necessity which exists to turn their most serious attention to matters appertaining to the health, strength, and physical condition of the people of this country, and to take instant steps to improve the physique of the British race."

XIX

PARLIAMENT

1895

REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS BILL

IN adding a small contribution to several other schemes for improving the House of Lords, which appeared about this time in 1895, I partially foreshadowed the Parliament Bill which afterwards became law in 1911. I said: "If the Peers have, as I think, practically renounced the right of indefinite resistance to the House of Commons, it would constitute no great renunciation on their part to make the theory and the practice coincide, by their passing a self-denying ordinance, that when a Bill coming from the Commons has been rejected by the Lords in two consecutive sessions, and after a general election in the year following the last rejection, and within six months of the election, is brought up again to the Lords in a form similar to that in which it was presented to them on former occasions, then resistance to it should cease, and it should be permitted to pass into law.

It might also be placed on record that, in case the 'referendum' or direct reference to the people of questions in dispute between the two Houses be introduced into Great Britain, the Peers should consider themselves bound to abide by the result of the 'referendum' without insisting on their right to a second rejection.

KILLRUDDERY. BLUE GATE AND BARCHHUILLIA MOUNTAIN

If the Lords were to consent thus to put on record the limits they have already in theory placed on their power of veto, the extent of their opposition would be known and recognised, and men would feel that it was well that the electorate should have, on important questions, a second and final opportunity of expressing a well-considered and definite opinion.

In order to obtain a Chamber which should represent the best and wisest thought of the nation, and should not consist, as at present, too exclusively of one class, it would be well to diminish the number of hereditary Peers sitting in the House, and introduce into it men distinguished in many walks of life, who might not be desirous of burdening their families with the responsibilities of an hereditary Peerage, but who would be quite willing to accept for themselves seats for life in the House of Lords.

The principle of life Peers having been admitted in 1887, it only remains for the House to extend this privilege by petitioning the Crown to grant life Peerages in such a manner, and in such proportions, as shall make the House of Lords, though not an elected body, representative of the best elements of the national life.

Wealth, Land, Law, Army, Navy, Diplomacy, the Civil Service, and the Established Church, are all amply represented in the House. Commerce, Literature, Science, and Philanthropy are already partly represented ; why should not their representatives be still further increased ? Let the most distinguished sons of Art, Medicine, and Architecture, who are at present in a great degree excluded from the House, find seats within its walls. Why should the high ecclesiastics of only one Church be able to influence the course of legislation in the Upper House ? Let the spiritual leaders of the other denominations be offered seats in proportion to their numbers. In order

not to increase too largely the ecclesiastical element, it would be well to diminish the number of prelates of the Established Church entitled to a seat in the House, say, to about two-thirds of their present number, and to offer the seats thus vacated to the leading ecclesiastics of other denominations.

Both Lord Rosebery and Lord Dunraven have proposed that the Colonies should be represented. By all means let the Agents-General sit and vote in the Upper House during their tenure of office, in the same manner as the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary used to be summoned under Lord Cairn's Appellate Jurisdiction Act, before the Amending Act of 1887 was passed, which turned their temporary Peerages into unconditional Peerages for life. I have elsewhere advocated the admission to the House of Lords, of a limited number of princes or distinguished natives from India, and I trust that if any reform of the Upper House be attempted, the claims of India and of the Colonies will not be ignored, so that the idea of imperial unity may assume a concrete form, in at all events one branch of the Legislature. As long as care be taken that the principle of popular election shall in no way be permitted, in the creation of Peers, to encroach on the prerogative of the Crown, I see no reason why the municipalities of some of the principal cities should not be invited to submit to the King the name of a distinguished citizen for the honour of a life Peerage.

A municipality should not be permitted to make a similar recommendation to the Crown until after the death of the last recipient of the honour. In the same manner it appears to me that the learned, scientific, and artistic corporations, such as the Royal Society, the Royal Academy, the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, and other similar bodies, might each be invited to lay before the Crown the name of one of their most

distinguished sons with a view to a life Peerage being offered to him.

The writer of a treatise on the reform of the House of Lords which appeared some years ago, in the form of three letters to *The Times*, made a suggestion that all Peers who had served as Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors, Judges, Speakers of the House of Commons, Generals, Admirals, heads of departments, and Indian or Colonial Governors, should retain for life their right to sit and vote, and that the other hereditary Peers, including those from Scotland and Ireland, should be allowed to select representatives amounting to one-third or one-fourth of their total number by the proportional vote. If the first suggestion, which seems a judicious one, were adopted, about 100 hereditary Peers would retain their seats for life ; and it may be supposed, that after the principle of life Peerages had been at work for some years, the official class, instead of being as at present, almost entirely composed of hereditary Peers, would contain a considerable proportion—say half—of life Peers. It would, therefore, I think, be not unreasonable to permit 200 hereditary Peers to be elected by the whole body of the hereditary Peerage, thus admitting to the House about one-half, instead of, as suggested by the writer in *The Times*, only one-fourth or one-fifth of the present number of Peers who possess that privilege. The largest number of hereditary Peers (consistent with efficient reform) should, in my opinion, be permitted to retain their seats. Were the above system of reconstitution adopted, there would be a certain danger lest Peers who sit on the cross benches of the House of Lords, and are unconnected with any of the political parties, should be overlooked in the day of election, although some of them might, in an unofficial way, have rendered service to the country. If the Crown were empowered to create,

say, thirty life Peers in addition to those recommended by certain learned and municipal corporations suggested in this paper, special categories of persons would probably have to be mentioned, from which the Peers were to be chosen ; and the possibility of omission alluded to might be avoided by authorising the Crown to summon a certain number of persons to the House in consideration of useful services rendered to the people of an unofficial or unpolitical character.

The House thus constituted would number about 400. Of these, from 100 to about 150 would, under the above arrangement, hold their seats for life as Spiritual or Temporal Peers. By permitting as many as about 200 hereditary Peers, in addition to those who happen also to hold official rank, to retain their seats, few would be excluded who were in the habit of attending the debates of the House, no great revolutionary shock would be given to its composition or procedure, whilst, by the gradual admission of as many as 80 new men, exclusive of the growing number of official life Peers, all of them chosen for wisdom, ability, or distinguished service, fresh life and vigour would be given to the Second Chamber. Its doors being open to talent and successful energy in all departments of useful service to the State it would soon come to be regarded as the branch of the Legislature specially representative of learning, intelligence, and refinement, as well as of social rank and wealth, and would consequently obtain for itself the interest and support of all whose education, environment, or temperament would naturally lead them to place their confidence rather in the wisdom of successful and experienced intelligence, and in inherited gifts of leadership or statesmanship, than in the varying and uncertain voices of an untrained multitude.

As it may be presumed that under the category of recommended life Peers, the men whose names would be

submitted by the learned societies and large municipalities for the honour of a Peerage would not all belong to one political party, there would be no reason for delay in summoning the whole 20 in the same year to the Upper House, and the same might be said of the Colonial and Indian life Peers ; but in the case of the ordinary life Peers, and of the 10 representatives of the Roman Catholic and Dissenting Churches, as these would probably be chosen by the Prime Minister of the day, it would be well to place a limit on the number to be added to the Peerage in the same year, so as to insure, as far as possible, that both political leaders should have a fair chance of adding to their followers in the Upper House.

Under the above circumstances, the hereditary Peers would probably at first number about 300, and the life Peers (exclusive of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Established Church) about 60, but gradually as the life Peers increased in number, and more and more of them held official rank, their numbers would increase, and that of the hereditary Peers decrease, until supposing the official and ex-official class to be equally composed of hereditary and life Peers, the former would number 250 and the latter 150. Of course, in the improbable event of all the officials and ex-officials being life Peers, the numbers would be equal.

If the House of Lords were to adopt some such reform as that which I have attempted to sketch, the accusation could no longer be made with any shadow of justice that it was exclusively composed of one class. The last and third accusation, that the House of Lords possesses no means of expelling its ' black sheep,' could not be better met than it has been by the proposal of (the late) Lord Salisbury, that on an Address from the House, the Crown should be empowered to refuse a writ of summons to any Peer guilty of misconduct ; but although it might be well

to pass some such Bill as Lord Salisbury's Suspension of Writs Bill of 1888, 'black sheep' would probably find it exceedingly difficult (even if they desired to vote, which experience has shown they hardly ever do) to force an entrance into a House constituted as proposed in these pages.

It appears to me, therefore, that all legitimate grievances against the composition and powers of the House of Lords would be removed by the adoption of some such measure; the Upper Chamber would be strengthened and made in a certain degree representative, without being clothed with an elective character which might encourage it to place itself in determined and perhaps permanent opposition to the popular branch of the Legislature. Its rights of veto and of amendment, whilst still retained in force sufficient for all useful purposes, would be regulated so that the country and the House itself would know the exact limit of its powers. The House of Commons would feel that when supported by the people, whatever might be the political complexion of the Upper House, the will of the Commons must ultimately prevail without the necessity of threats or of revolution, but simply by the lapse of time and by patient persistence of conduct over a period which could not possibly extend for more than three years.

If the above reform were accepted by the Upper House, a reasonable hope might be entertained that in the future neither despair on the one hand, nor the consciousness of unrestricted power on the other, would ever tempt the Lords to unwise and obstinate resistance, or the people to revolutionary action."

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL

1905

On June 26th, 1905, Lord Muskerry moved the second reading of the "Merchant Shipping (Aliens) Bill," and I supported him. We were, however, beaten on a division by 53 votes to 35. The object of the Bill was to prevent aliens from obtaining the control of British ships and property. In the course of my remarks, I said: "Although it may be the fact that comparatively few British vessels are officered by foreigners, and that at this moment the number of foreign sailors is not sufficiently large for us to be seriously alarmed, still (*obsta principiis*), there is no reason why these officers of foreign origin should not be increased and the number of foreign sailors considerably augmented." I asked whether it would not be possible for some hostile Power privately and secretly to charter these vessels—vessels that are only British by the hanging of a flag from the mast-head, and which are manned by foreign officers and seamen—and in that way secure the tonnage which, we were informed by the Prime Minister, they could not find if they wished to invade us. I said: "It is a serious question whether these vessels officered and manned to a large extent by foreigners, would not be a real danger to this country in time of war. I have heard many naval men speak of the seriousness of the granting of pilotage certificates to alien pilots." The knowledge of the intricacies of our rivers, and of the entrances to our ports, thus obtained by alien and hostile seamen, did not conduce to the shortening of the great World War of 1914 to 1918, and fully justified the action of Lord Muskerry in bringing in his Bill in 1905.

1910

INDECENT ADVERTISEMENT (AMENDMENT) BILL

In 1910 on the introduction of the "Indecent Advertisement (Amendment) Bill" into the Lords by Lord Braye, I supported the second reading, which was passed on the 12th July. On this occasion I said: "As the author of the Bill which twenty-one years ago became the Act which it is now proposed to amend, it is a pleasure to me to hear that that Act has been of some service, and to read in the Memorandum, attached to the Bill under discussion, that the Act of 1889 has had considerable effect in preventing the distribution of certain classes of unsavoury advertisements. But an amendment of that Act is undoubtedly needed. I may say that I introduced certain words in the original Bill which would have prevented the possibility of these advertisements being issued in newspapers, but in its passage through Parliament those words were deleted. The noble Lord, Lord Braye, proposes to go still further than I did, and in doing that he has my sympathetic support. It is not so very many years ago since a Right Reverend Prelate (the late Bishop of Ripon) who was noted for his eloquence, made a splendid speech in this House on this very subject which has been alluded to, of Malthusianism, and he pointed out the terrible effects which were taking place amongst our population, owing to these doctrines advocating the restriction of the birth-rate. The evils which the Right Reverend Prelate pointed out in 1903 are very much greater now than they were at that time. The Right Reverend Prelate quoted, without notes, an enormous

mass of statistics on that occasion. One of the few figures I remember was that the birth-rate in the year 1876 was 36·3 and that in the year 1898 it was 29·4 per thousand. In 1907 we had gone further in a retrograde direction, and now the birth-rate is 26·3. The Right Reverend Prelate told us at that time—I think he took it from some figures given by Mr Edward Cannon—that in 1880 the size of families was 4·34 ; at the end of 1890, 4·08 ; and at the end of 1900, 3·63. There are no figures that I know of that will absolutely show what the size of families now is, but if you calculate in accordance with the above-mentioned proportions, you will find that about three is the size of the average family nowadays. In other words there are about 2,000,000 less children in the land than we should have had, had we maintained the standard of these former years. The Registrar-General, in his Report, says there can be little doubt that much of this is due to wilful restriction in child-bearing. I think it is most important, if we are to preserve not only the purity of our families, but the very Empire itself, that we should take this matter into our serious consideration. We own one-fifth of the earth's surface, a great proportion of which is quite capable of being filled by people of the Anglo-Saxon race, and, unless we are prepared to accept that duty and to fill those lands, the British Empire cannot last. We have recently heard, with great pleasure, words coming from the very highest quarters. Those words made a great impression upon me when I read them. They were, 'The foundations of national glory are set in the homes of the people. They will only remain while the family life of our race and nation is strong, simple, and pure.' I hope, My Lords, we shall to-night do something to assist in making the family life of this nation strong, simple, and pure."

EDUCATION (PHYSICAL TRAINING) BILL

1910

On July 14th Viscount Hill moved the second reading of a Bill which he introduced, called " Education (Physical Training) Bill." On this occasion I said: " We have all listened with sympathy to the words that have fallen from the noble Viscount. At the same time he seems to be in ignorance of the fact that physical exercises have been carried out in the schools of this country for a great deal longer than two years. It is now twenty-one years since I myself introduced a Bill into this House on the same subject. I re-introduced the Bill twenty years ago. It was rejected at the time on both occasions, as most novel measures are when first introduced into Parliament, but in the third year it was accepted practically *en bloc*, by the Liberal Government of the day."

PARLIAMENT BILL

1911

In the introduction into Parliament of the Parliament Bill in 1911 by which the full former privileges of the House of Lords were abolished under the threat of the House being swamped by the addition of new Peers sufficient to coerce any possible combination of Peers hostile to the passing of the Bill, Lord Lansdowne, whilst expressing disapproval of the Bill, counselled the Peers who followed him to abstain from voting, and thus avoid the swamping of the House by 500 new Peers.

Lord Halsbury, on the other hand, advocated a bold policy of refusing to be coerced by threats, and declined to accept Lord Lansdowne's advice. In considering

which policy should be adopted, I wrote the following, which was published in several leading papers:

"Many minds are seriously in doubt whether Lord Lansdowne, or Lord Halsbury, has shown the greater wisdom in the advice respectively tendered to the Unionist Peers, by those eminent leaders, on the present grave Constitutional crisis. It may facilitate thought if we consider the probable consequences which will follow the adoption of either course of action. Let us first consider what will be likely to happen if the Peers accept Lord Lansdowne's advice, and surrender their amendments, which safeguard the Constitution from attacks and prevent legislative alteration without the direct authorisation of the people.

1. A precedent will be established, making it Constitutional for a Prime Minister to call upon the King to create Peers, whenever the Minister desires to coerce the Second Chamber and pass a particular measure.

2. It will not be necessary to create Peers, for a precedent will have been established, which will be quoted, to show that on the mere threat by the Prime Minister of the creation of Peers, it will be the duty of the Second Chamber at once to submit to his will, however dictatorial, and however unsupported by the country at large that Minister may be. The Crown, by the repeated misuse of its prerogative, will thus be certainly dragged into the arena of political conflict, and will become hateful to half the population in turn, for if one party makes this use of the prerogative, its rival will be obliged to do so in self-defence as soon as it returns to power. The prestige of the Crown will be lowered, and it will soon be asked of what use is it to the nation, when it has ceased to represent the people as a whole, has lost all semblance of independence, and is only an instrument at the disposal

of the Prime Minister to enforce, over the heads of the Second Chamber, the will of a majority—it may be a very small or a fleeting, fictitious majority—in the Commons obtained by log-rolling methods—a majority which may really represent only a minority in the country? The Crown will thus be degraded in the eyes of the people, and might very easily, in the hands of an unscrupulous Ministry, become an instrument of oppression, and a danger to the liberties of the country.

3. How about its influence on the House of Lords itself? It may at once be conceded, that if the selfish interests of the Peers be alone taken into consideration, it would be wiser for them to surrender, and thus avoid the introduction into the House of a large number of men whose presence might lower the social status of their order; but the House of Lords, as a body, recognises its position as one of the Estates of the Realm, and in considering its action must take into account the interests of the nation and of the people from whom its powers are derived.

4. There can be little doubt that the great majority of the British people desire a strong Second Chamber; which shall only be subordinate to the clearly expressed opinion of the nation as a whole.

5. The British Constitution is unwritten. It owes its existence to the repetition of precedents. An isolated act has no Constitutional force; but let that act be repeated, and it is in a fair way to become law. In 1832 the House of Lords surrendered on the threat of a creation of Peers. Let this act be repeated without active opposition in 1911, and it will become very difficult to hinder the establishment of a precedent that it is the duty of the Second Chamber to surrender, not on the creation, but on the mere threat of the creation of Peers. No strong

Second Chamber could possibly exist under such conditions.

6. If such a Constitutional theory became established in fact, the independence of the Second Chamber will have departed, and Single Chamber rule will have taken the place of King, Lords, and Commons.

7. No amount of passive protests or of abstention will prevent this. In 1832 there was abstention. Only active resistance in the House, and in the Lobby, will avail to make it clear that a revolution has occurred, and that the Second Chamber has not voluntarily resigned the powers it holds under the Constitution. Only by such action can it retain the moral right to future resistance. It is clear that the House of Lords, under the policy of 'surrender,' will retain all the weaknesses which have made the present attack on its powers possible. Membership will still be due to heredity, and it will still be open to the accusation of being a Tory caucus. Such will be the probable effects on the Crown, and on the House of Lords, of 'surrender' by the Peers to the revolutionary demand of the Prime Minister. What will be its effect on the House of Commons and on the people?

The rights of minorities have notoriously suffered of recent years in the House of Commons. Freedom of speech has been grossly curtailed. Bills are passed by arbitrary methods without adequate discussion. Often large portions of these Bills have received no discussion at all. Will not these evils be increased when Ministers can feel that there is no tribunal beyond the Commons which can compel adequate discussion and consideration of the legislation they propose? Will not minorities in the House of Commons, and in the country, be ruthlessly crushed when there is no body strong enough under the Constitution to insist on justice and on freedom of speech?

It may be said that some of these evils will follow the passing of the Parliament Bill, whether the Peers surrender or whether they fight to the end. Granted. But those who have the interests of the nation at heart must look to the future as well as to the present. If a sturdy fight be now made, if the nation be thoroughly aroused to the nature of the crime which is being perpetrated on its liberties, if the authors of the revolution are made to feel that such an act entails unpleasant consequences to themselves and their party, and will never be forgotten or forgiven by a large part of the people, it is unlikely that such an outrage on the Constitution will ever again be attempted.

Let us now consider the results which would probably ensue if Lord Halsbury's advice be followed by the Peers. If the policy of ' no surrender ' be adopted, the independence of the Crown will be safeguarded in the future. Though Lord Halsbury be defeated in the House the reproach of being a partisan House will be removed from the House of Lords by the addition of a large number of Liberal Peers, and its reform will be hastened by its increased numbers, and by the presence within its portals of so many leading Radicals. It would not be long before a strong Second Chamber took the place of the present weak House of Lords. The nation would once again feel secure and would look back with gratitude to those members of the House of Lords who, in the year 1911, were not afraid to stand firm when recommended by trusted statesmen like Lords Halsbury and Selborne, to oppose a course which they felt in their hearts was fatal to the interests of their country, though it might be of temporary advantage to their order."

When, on August 10th, the debate on the motion " that the Commons' reasons for agreeing to or dissenting from the Lords' Amendments to the Parliament Bill be

considered" was resumed, I said that "there was no Constitutional precedent for the course which the Government had taken. The Lords would have to be careful, or such procedure would become part of the Constitutional law. There was no guarantee that within six months, they would not again have the revolver levelled at their brains. They might say that the revolver was empty, but they would be told that having fallen down once before it they must do so again. That process might go on year after year, and where then would be the freedom and independence of the House and of the people?

The liberties of the people would depend entirely upon the good will of the Dictator. If a Unionist Government came into power, they would be compelled, most reluctantly, to follow the example of the present Government in creating Peers, in order to enable them to pass their Bills. A great deal had been said about the fear with which their Lordships regarded the prospect of having an avalanche of Peers thrust upon them. I had no such fear. I was an old House of Lords reformer and would indeed welcome 500 or even more new Peers. Let them be Radicals, it would be an excellent thing; the Radical Party would have to send its most intelligent and best elements to this House, where they would come under Conservative influences, and this House, instead of being weaker, would be stronger than it had ever been before. The presence of those new Peers would make the proceedings of their Lordships' House lively, and then the people would understand what the position really was. Was it worth while to yield now in order that the House might drag on a miserable existence with a simulacrum of power, which would be perfectly useless?"

LORD MEATH ON THE PARLIAMENT BILL

1911

On the motion in the House of Lords "that a Lords' amendment to the Parliament Bill be not insisted upon," I said :

"You have all heard to-day the fateful announcement made by the noble Viscount who leads the House, and we must feel that that is a pronouncement which will have the most lasting effect upon the history of this Kingdom and this Empire. Therefore, perhaps, I, who do not often take a part in your political debates because I think I can direct my energies more usefully in other directions, may be allowed upon this historic occasion to say a few words. There can be no doubt whatever that a revolution has been accomplished. This is the end of the historic House of Lords which has lasted for 700 years. I believe firmly that a better and a stronger Chamber will grow out of this unconstitutional action. I believe in my own countrypeople, and I am of opinion that when the country realises why all this violence has been committed they will not sanction it permanently.

Why has this violence been committed ? Is it because the House of Lords has refused to pass the Parliament Bill ? Not a bit of it. It is because the House of Lords has added amendments which give power to the people to have the last voice in the management of their own affairs, and I am very much mistaken in the temper of my countrymen if, when they realise what is the true meaning of this attack on the Constitution, they do not resent it and refuse to forgive those who have been responsible for offering such advice to the Sovereign. We have had a revolver of the very latest construction presented at our

heads, and we know now that that revolver is loaded and is about to be discharged. We knew that before, although some of your Lordships did not believe it. I believed it, and I believe the party with which I have the honour to act at this moment as a humble supporter of Lord Halsbury recognised it from the very commencement, and that is why we have ventured to take the course, not a popular or an easy course, of differing from over 320 Unionists with whom we have usually had occasion to act in common.

But, my Lords, principle is above tactics and above Party policy, and I feel that it would have been direst cowardice on our part if we had ventured for one moment to consider this yielding or not yielding as a matter affecting our own individual advantage, our social position, our position as one of the Estates of the Realm. We should look upon it simply and solely from the point of view of what is best for the nation and for the people. We are here as trustees for the people, and as trustees for the people we must act. Trustees when they are acting on behalf of their clients have not to consider whether a particular course of action gives them trouble or whether it will involve the sacrifice of some of their own interests. If they are honourable men they will think of nothing whatever but the interests of their clients. Our clients are the people of these islands. And what are the Government doing? They are putting enormous power into the hands of the Cabinet. And may I ask, What is the Cabinet? Is the Cabinet recognised by the Constitution of this country? It is a junto, a sub-committee of the Privy Council—that is all, although no doubt it has the confidence of the Sovereign.

The Government are putting into the hands of the Cabinet power to be able at any time to say to the Monarch, 'It is your duty as a Constitutional Sovereign

to do what we tell you.' Has that been the custom in the past ? Not a bit of it. Even in the case of the Reform Bill of 1832 King William IV twice declined to accede to the demands of his Ministers. That is the only instance ; because with regard to the year 1711, though Queen Anne consented to yield to the advice of her Ministers and permitted the creation of twelve Peers, those Peers were created for the purpose of putting an end to a bloody war. And what happened ? Two of those Ministers had to fly the country.

There is no Constitutional precedent sufficiently emphasised to make it a Constitutional dictum or practice that the King should in all circumstances agree to the advice of his Ministers ; and what I and some others are afraid of is that—although this was done once in the Constitutional history of the country, in 1832—if there is no actual protest made now it will become part of the Constitutional law of this country ; and not only that, but if we have held at our heads at some future date an empty revolver we are to fall flat and worship. We are told that if we follow the lead of Lord Landsdowne and walk out we shall reserve to ourselves the rights and privileges which we now have, and that for at all events two years, we shall be able to reject measures which we think we ought to reject. But I have not been given any proofs of this. Who is going to guarantee that within six months after we have yielded the same process will not be gone through again and that we shall not have this empty revolver again presented at our brains ? And when we say the revolver is empty we shall be told, ' Of course it is ; everybody knows it is empty ; but having fallen down in 1911 you must do it again.' That process might go on year after year. Where would then be the freedom and the independence of this House and of the country ? Our liberties would depend entirely upon the good will

of the Dictator. He may be at present a most excellent man, but how do we know that we are always going to have this excellent Dictator in office? He is liable to the ills of human flesh, and he will die some day. What then? This House to-night is going to give up all the safeguards it has had for 700 years. Let there be no doubt about that. Lord Milner told us that if these 500 Peers are made, if we are overwhelmed and a Conservative Government came into power and found these Peers in possession of the House, you would not be able to pass any Bill which might in the least alter the position of affairs—that it would be perfectly impossible to do anything so wicked or so unconstitutional as to follow the example of these dreadful men who sit upon the Front Bench here. We Conservatives could not demean ourselves by willingly doing anything like that. But do you imagine for one moment that if the country realised the position we should not be compelled to do it? Of course we should—most reluctantly. Supposing a man comes up to you in the street at night with a Browning and points it at your head and says, 'Your money or your life,' and you struggle with that fellow, and get the Browning out of his possession, are you not to present it at his head if you can? The Browning was not yours; you did not present it at anybody's head; the fellow presented it at your head first of all; and if you find further that that Browning did not belong to that man but had been stolen from another man, would not you to protect yourself shoot the man with that Browning if you possibly could? Of course you would; it is common sense.

The course pursued by Lord Halsbury is the proper one.

If, on the other hand, we go on in our half-dead condition knowing that at any moment we are liable to have

this empty revolver pointed at our heads, what sort of position shall we be in ? Shall we dare to have an opinion of our own ? Shall we dare for one moment to encourage or drive, if you like to use the term, His Majesty's Government to use that revolver ? No ; we shall go on and drag out a miserable existence.

Lord Rosebery told us that by yielding in 1832 we obtained a further existence of eighty years. I wish to goodness we had never had those eighty years. If only in 1832 a fight had been made we should have been a real live Assembly at this moment. The noble Lord said that after to-day we shall exist only for a few years in a miserable condition. I do not say those were his words, but that was the pith of his meaning. I ask your Lordships, Is it worth while, for the sake of a few years' existence, to go on without any power or real authority whatever —a sort of painted fortress, with a perfectly useless simulacrum of power, which will only deceive the people ? Is it not better and much nobler to say to the Government at once, ' Force us. We are not going to yield until you fire. Do your worst.' "

XX

PARLIAMENTARY SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

1888

HAVING become the 12th Earl of Meath by the death of my father in 1887, in order to further the advance of social legislation I approached in 1888 some of the leading Parliamentary philanthropic reformers in both Houses of Parliament and obtained the signatures of ten Peers and of eight members of the House of Commons to the following statement, which was circulated amongst members of both Houses: "The consideration of social and philanthropic reforms has, in the opinion of the undersigned, not received in the past that share of interest within the walls of Parliament which should be accorded it, seeing that in the main such questions are of much more vital importance to the mass of the electors than many purely political subjects. These latter are discussed year after year for many consecutive days and nights to the exclusion of more prosaic, but often of more useful legislation, bearing reference to such non-political subjects as Pauperism, Workhouse Reform, Starvation Wages, Overpopulation, Foreign Immigration, Colonisation, Emigration, Pollution of Air and Water, Prevention of Infection, the Drink Question, Overcrowding of Dwellings, Insanitary Buildings, the Social Evil Question, Early Closing, Industrial, Technical, Commercial, and

Physical Education, Public Parks and Playgrounds, Factory, Mining, and Workshop Legislation and Inspection, Small Holdings, Allotments, National Insurance, etc., etc. The undersigned believe that this unfortunate result is due in a great measure to the fact that social reformers and philanthropists within the walls of Parliament are mostly free lances, each fighting for his own hand, sometimes even in opposition to each other, without the support, discipline, and restraint, which combination alone can give. They are surrounded by organised forces, and unless, by a side wind, they can enlist the support of one or more of the powerful political parties, it is seldom that they can even obtain a hearing, much less a victory. It must also be acknowledged that, owing to the above want of organisation and discipline, crude suggestions and ill-considered schemes occasionally bring the Parliamentary social reformer into disrepute. The result of this is that, to some minds, the terms 'philanthropist' and 'crochet-monger' appear to be synonymous. Organisation would remedy these defects; if Social Reformers were occasionally to meet for the purpose of discussing the questions which interest them, in order to decide which of them were the most pressing, and which they would as a body support, Parliament would listen to them all the more readily, because it would feel that the reforms demanded represented the result of the deliberations of a body of men who had made these questions their specialité, and were not mere well-intentioned but perhaps frothy emanations, issuing from the brain of an isolated enthusiast or fanatic. Organisation would enable social reformers to raise and maintain a debate in either or both Houses of Parliament, whenever they considered it advisable to do so, and the knowledge that a certain amount of voting power was behind the speakers would lend force to their arguments in the eyes

of Parliament or of the Government of the day." This document was signed by the Duke of Westminster, Lords Aberdeen, Kinnaird, Dorchester, Egerton of Tatton, Mount Temple, De Vesci, Monkswell, Hobhouse, and myself, and on behalf of the Commons by Sir John Lubbock, Sir Edward Birkbeck, Sir William Houldsworth, and by Messrs James Bryce (afterwards Lord Bryce), George Dixon, Sydney Gedge, Egerton Hubbard, and Samuel Smith.

On May 17th a meeting of Peers and of members of the House of Commons was held under my presidency, in Grosvenor House, by permission of the Duke of Westminster, when it was resolved "that it is expedient in the interests of the great body of the people that a Parliamentary organisation be formed, irrespective of political party, to be called the Parliamentary Social Reform Committee, and that those present now form themselves into such an organisation." Lord Thring moved that "the Earl of Meath be Chairman of the Committee, and Mr Anstruther, Mr Seton-Kerr, and Lord Monkswell act as Hon. Secretaries to the Association." This was carried. The Parliamentary Social Reform Association, thus established, met regularly in Committee Rooms within the Houses of Parliament for some two or more years, and no doubt did useful work, but although its members reached to over 200 in number —it was found impossible to induce members to adhere to promises made in the Committee Room, when pressure was brought to bear on them in the House by their respective party Whips, and eventually it was thought advisable to dissolve the Association. It will be seen, however, by reference to the subjects mentioned above what enormous advances have been made in matters of social reform since those days, and who knows but that some of this advance may fairly be placed to the credit of the short-lived Parliamentary Social Reform Association?

THE CHURCH ARMY

ADDRESS BY LORD MEATH, PRESIDENT OF THE CHURCH ARMY

1888

"The Church Army like the Salvation Army has not escaped criticism. There are many who conscientiously object to all methods of bringing the Gospel to the masses which are not strictly in accordance with those with which from their youth they have been familiar. There is an advantage in this conservatism inasmuch as it checks extravagance and puts a drag on those whose excitable natures would lead them to adopt innovations without due consideration, or from love of change rather than from any solid motive. But we should remember that everything in the material heavens and earth is in a perpetual condition of change and progress. Why should we therefore imagine that religious organisation and methods of work should alone be exempt from this universal law? Our Saviour Himself released mankind from much of the Mosaic Dispensation, the strict observance of which, up to His coming, was considered essential to the salvation of a God-fearing man. We must separate those observances and customs which we consider of divine origin from those which are of human, and must then submit the latter to the test of reason; and if we find that the work which Christ came into the world to accomplish, and which He has commanded us to carry on, can be better performed by some alteration of machinery (which after all is a human invention) it would be absurd, and even traitorous, to decline to avail ourselves of the best means at our disposal for fulfilling our Lord's commands.

It cannot be denied that the old-fashioned methods adopted by the Church for bringing the Gospel to the people, though admirably suited to the requirements of the educated and the well-to-do, have not always been successful when the lapsed masses have had to be dealt with. They decline to attend our churches, and often even our mission services; in other words, they refuse to take the trouble to hear the message which the Church has been divinely commissioned to give. It is impossible (even were it desirable, which it certainly would not be) to compel them to come inside our ecclesiastical buildings.

There is, therefore, but one alternative, unless they are to be left altogether outside of the ministrations of the Church, and that is for the latter to go to them. This is effectually done by the Church Army, which—avoiding the sensationalism, the occasional profanity, and the flippancy which have sometimes characterised the proceedings of the *Salvation* Army (though here I would wish to pay my tribute of respect to the true and genuine work accomplished, and to the self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of Christ exhibited by many members of that body)—has, in a business-like and orderly manner, under proper rule and discipline, and with the sanction of, and in co-operation with the Church, brought the Gospel to the masses in a way which it would have been impossible for the more regular ecclesiastical forces to have accomplished.

We are so accustomed to look upon religion as connected with the material fabric of a church that it requires some exercise of thought to remember that the most famous sermon ever preached, as well as the most beautiful, was that which was delivered from a Judean mount; and that our Saviour, when He desired to commune with God, retired into the wilderness or to the hills, whilst

His voice was constantly heard in exhortation in the streets of the city.

Whilst we are mindful of the above, however, let us not forget that the Pharisees were rebuked for making long prayers at the corners of the streets to be seen of men, and let us beware lest hypocrisy or Pharisaism should spoil that which should be a good and useful work. Let us also beware lest, in our zeal to preach the Gospel and to bring the unwilling to Christ, we overstep the bounds of common sense and of courtesy and irritate where we seek to soothe, repel where we desire to attract, and bring discredit on the cause of Christ by our thoughtlessness in regard to the rights and comfort of others, and by our selfishness even in the cause of religion. Ah ! selfishness, what a curse this is to all good causes. How difficult it is for the best of us entirely to eliminate self from our hearts in the prosecution of even the most sacred of subjects. The perfectly simple-minded man is, alas ! difficult to find. Even when we believe that we are working from the purest of motives, do we not often, to our shame, discover that self has been at the bottom of our energy and zeal ? Ambition—the desire to make a good impression on others, and to advance ourselves rather than the cause—how frequently do we, if we are honest, have to confess these faults upon our knees ! And if we are conscious of them, we may be sure that the enemy, who is ever on the look-out for some flaw in our armour, has discovered them long ago. In fact, the world is ever ready to impute wrong motives as the mainspring of religious action. Let us diminish by earnest prayer all cause for such accusations. Finally, let us be most careful in the selection of those who are placed in positions of authority. If a hypocrite gain admission to our ranks it is bad enough ; but if he be promoted to offices of influence and trust, the harm which he will do to our

cause is greater than the good which fifty honest Christian men will be able to accomplish. For murder will out, and sooner or later his hypocrisy will be discovered and the world will scoff and sneer, and pretend to be convinced—and by dint of asseveration lead many to believe —that the black sheep is a true specimen of the entire flock.

Let not my words of warning discourage you. It is the part of the enemy to lull an army into false security, so that it may be more easily overwhelmed. It is the duty of the friend to point out possible dangers, so that they be avoided; to criticise keenly the discipline where it appears slack, so that it may be improved; to exhort to vigilance where over-confidence seems to exist, and generally to point out the weak points of the defence rather than lay stress on the strong ones, so that trusting in God's Providence we may confidently look forward to certain victory, knowing that we have done all in our power to insure success, and that we are fighting for our own great Captain of the Host, so that if we are true and faithful soldiers the final triumph shall be ours."

XXI

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS BY THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

1890

NOTES BY LORD MEATH

IN 1890 the conscience of England was horrified by news from Russia that its Government proposed early in 1891 to issue some extraordinarily cruel and oppressive edicts as "repressive measures" against the Jews residing in Russia. A meeting was therefore held in the Guildhall, London, on December 10th. The *Daily News* in a leading article said: "The Guildhall has never gathered under its roof a more thoroughly representative meeting of Englishmen than that which assembled there yesterday, to protest against the persecution of the Jews in Russia. The Lord Mayor presided; and amongst the leading speakers were the Duke of Westminster, the Bishop of Ripon, the Rev Hugh Price Hughes, Lord Meath, Sir R. Fowler, Sir Joseph Pease, and Sir John Colomb. The names of those who would have stood there if they could, are enough to show that the whole public voice of England, without distinction of party, creed, or class, was raised in protestation against the ill-treatment of the Czar's Jewish subjects." The outcome of this meeting was the appointment of Sir Joseph Pease and of Lord Meath as delegates to visit St Petersburg, and request an audience of the Czar on the subject. In bringing the matter before the

House of Lords, Lord Meath asked H.M.'s Government, whether it was true that an edict had been issued in Russia forbidding Jews to hold or farm land ; and if so whether H.M.'s Government would take steps to prevent a wholesale invasion of Great Britain by Jewish Russian paupers ? He remarked that if the statement were true, the edict would affect about 1,000,000 people, who would be reduced to the condition of paupers, and who would be obliged to leave the country. In reply Lord Salisbury stated that the Government had received no information on the subject, and in the absence of information he declined to discuss it. In accordance with the resolution passed at the Guildhall, a politely worded protest was drawn up, and engrossed on vellum, assuming that the Czar was ignorant of the action of his Government, and expressing a respectful hope that he would interfere in the matter. Immediate steps to obtain a personal interview with the Czar were taken by Sir Joseph Pease and by Lord Meath. These, however, were temporarily arrested by an urgent request from the Foreign Office that the above would renounce their intention of visiting St Petersburg, as any such action would be resented by the Russian Government. They replied, that although it was far from their desire to embarrass H.M.'s Government they felt that until released from their mission by the public meeting held at the Guildhall, they could not in honour fail to carry out their instructions. Ultimately it was decided to send the protest to the Czar through an intermediary who was looked upon as a *persona grata* at Court, and who had access to the person of his Sovereign. Whether His Majesty the Czar saw the document is doubtful ; several weeks afterwards, it was left by the Russian Ambassador in London with the porter at the Foreign Office, without comment. But although it was treated in this very cavalier manner, it

was not without effect, for the edict was never put into full operation, and died very shortly a natural death, to the great relief of the threatened Jewish population of Russia. A year afterwards, whilst I was staying with the Bishop of Adelaide in South Australia, I was told by the Bishop that, on that day, I was to receive an illuminated address of thanks from the Jews of that city for my action in defending their cause in 1890.

XXII

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

1892

I PUBLISHED the following article in consequence of personal experience of the benefit of encouraging gymnastics in the family in *May*, 1892.

"No good workman ever neglects his tools. He values them too highly to neglect them. He knows that he depends upon them for his living; that if they are rusty, or blunt, or broken, or in any way out of order, his work will suffer; and if his work suffers, he and his family will soon regret the negligence which has caused that suffering.

Men and women ought to know—though they often act as if they were ignorant of the fact—that the Almighty has provided them, for carrying on the work of the world, with instruments of a most delicate and complicated construction. These instruments are our bodies.

The most intricate machine made by human hands is simplicity itself when compared with the human frame, and yet this God-made machine can stand a large amount of wear and tear, if only it be well treated. But, alas! there are many men and women who never take the smallest care of their bodies.

They would appear to imagine, especially in youth, that no amount of ill-treatment can possibly hurt their constitutions. Others may break down in health; they may see physical wrecks all around them, the results of ignorance, carelessness, self-indulgence, or overwork,

but they flatter themselves disease will never come near them. They have cast-iron digestions, muscles of brass and nerves of steel ; they need not live by rule and measure like the common herd of weaklings.

So they go on, heedless of warnings, until the break-down comes with a sudden crash ; which is all the more violent because unexpected, unprepared for, and the result of long years of indiscretion.

Outraged nature never fails, in the long run, to assert herself. She may be lenient, she may be long-suffering ; but if her laws are persistently disregarded, even her greatest favourites are not permitted to escape without severe and deserved punishment. One of nature's sternest laws is that the physical powers which are not utilized shall decay. She denies the priceless gift of health to her children, unless they exercise the bodies with which she has furnished them.

In a primitive state of society man is forced by hunger and by the necessities of his condition to keep his material frame in good working order. But as civilisation advances, it becomes less and less necessary for large classes of mankind to rely upon their bodily strength and activity for food and raiment.

As men congregate into cities and carry out their work through the agency of machinery, sedentary occupations take the place of active ones, and in many cases, with the best will in the world, it becomes very difficult for a man to find time and opportunity to take sufficient exercise to keep his body in the full vigour of health.

If this is bad in the case of men, it is much worse when children are shut up within streets and houses, and are unable to enjoy the free use of their limbs. When this is the case, municipal school authorities should provide open-air and covered gymnasia, under the direction and

supervision of trained instructors, and physical exercises should be included in the educational curriculum, and be made compulsory on healthy children of both sexes.

But where authorities neglect their duties in this particular, and where there are no public gymnasia, much may be done by intelligent parents at a very small cost, for the physical benefit of their children. I remember as a boy the delight with which, when I was staying at the late Lord Lyttelton's country house, I was ushered into a spare room which he had fitted up as a gymnasium for the use of his children. How we revelled in the swings, the trapezes, the climbing ropes and poles, the cat-gallows for jumping, and the other apparatus which enabled us to give vent to our youthful physical energies !

All young and healthy animals, boys and girls included, need some outlet for their superabundant spirits. Lambs will skip, colts and fillies kick, and boys and girls jump, run, and shout, and sing. If no legitimate means of expending this energy are provided it will break out in illegitimate ways. Three-fourths of the youthful rowdy-ism of large towns is owing to the stupidity, and I may add cruelty, of the ruling powers in not finding some safety-valve for the exuberant energies of the boys and girls of their respective cities.

It is in the power of most parents, however, to keep their own unruly offspring in order, as well as in health and happiness, if they will only devote a little thought and a small amount of expenditure to the subject. When means permit and the family is numerous and there is a space of sufficient size attached to the house, a giant's stride should be erected for the use of both boys and girls, and in connection with this should be a cat-gallows or else a temporary hedge of bushes over which the children can jump as they swing round the pole.

I imagine that the nature of both a giant's stride and

cat-gallows is known to my readers, but perhaps it may be as well to explain for the information of those to whom the terms are strange.

A giant's stride is a gymnastic apparatus consisting of a strong pole, eight inches to a foot in diameter, and about twenty to twenty-six feet in length, sunk firmly into the ground, so as to leave some twenty feet above the soil. On the top of this pole is a strongly-fastened metal cap revolving on a central iron pivot. To this cap is attached by hooks four to eight ropes reaching to within four feet of the ground. At the end of the ropes are short pieces of wood placed horizontally, and forming handles.

The children pass the arm nearest the pole over the horizontal handles, and follow one another running as hard as they can. The centrifugal force engendered by the motion soon takes them partly off their legs, and they swing round, only occasionally touching the ground, with those giant strides which give the apparatus its name.

A cat-gallows is an apparatus for high jumping, consisting of two poles sunk in the ground some eight feet apart and some eight to ten feet high. These poles are notched on the side opposite to the jumper ; the notches being one or two inches apart, one above the other, at identical heights marked on either pole. Between these is placed a light wand, resting on the corresponding notches. Over this wand the children can jump without the slightest danger of a fall, as with the least touch it is displaced from its position.

For use in wet weather I have erected in my own children's nursery passage a movable cat-gallows, and for safety's sake I have placed an old discarded mattress on which the leaper alights, and, in the case of high jumping, he or she are thus saved from the jar to the body

which might otherwise result from landing on such a hard substance as the floor of a corridor.

This apparatus can be equally used by boys and girls, and is most popular on a wet day. I need hardly say that boots on these occasions are strictly tabooed, and that no jumping is permitted except in house shoes or stockings.

By making the supporting poles of this cat-gallows sufficiently strong, the rounded piece of ash at the top may be utilised as a horizontal bar, and by affixing footholds to one of the supporting poles, it can be reached easily by children of all sizes. Care must be taken that this ash bar be perfectly smooth, capable of bearing any weight likely to rest on it, and easily grasped by a child's hand.

For the use of younger children a lighter bar, more easily encompassed by small fingers, can be temporarily inserted when needed, and the upper bar removed. Of course when jumping takes place this upper bar must be displaced.

In teaching gymnastics in the family, the possession of a horizontal bar and cat-gallows represents the entire apparatus necessary. The cat-gallows gives strength and elasticity to the lower limbs, and by means of the former every muscle in the arms and body can be thoroughly exercised.

No real progress can be made until the child can raise its chin by means of its arms, without assistance, to the level of the bar. In order to attain this power the pupil must be at first assisted, and gradually, as strength comes to the arms, the help given must be less and less, until no further aid be needed.

The lessons should be systematic, daily, and, at first, of only a few minutes' duration, so as not to fatigue or overstrain the youthful muscles unaccustomed to such

exercise. The apparatus should, in the case of younger children, never be permitted to be used without supervision, and it would be well always to insist upon a mattress, or sacking filled with chaff, being placed under it in case of accident.

Some medical men recommend that a broad belt should be worn round the abdomen, and if a large ring be fixed at the back to this belt, it is of assistance to the instructor in enabling him to obtain a good hold of the child he is teaching.

It is not necessary to erect a special building or to sacrifice an entire room to the family gymnasium. The cat-gallows and horizontal bar can, as I have shown, be placed in any passage, and the ordinary school or children's room can be easily made into a gymnasium by placing a stout beam across the ceiling, if one does not already exist, and affixing to it a plain, stout rope, a knotted one, a rope ladder, a trapeze, and perhaps a swing or two ropes hung close together with rings at the end.

These can all be rapidly moved out of the way by placing at the side of the wall a light cord, passed over a pulley near the ceiling with a hook attached to one end. When it is necessary to remove the gymnastic apparatus, the hook can be attached to them all, and by pulling the other end of the cord the apparatus will be drawn towards the ceiling and kept out of the way until needed.

Where there is a mixed family of boys and girls, the ordinary bathing-dress with a broad belt attached makes a very practical and excellent costume for the girls, should parents not care to incur the expense of a special costume.

Running is an accomplishment which can be practised without expense. It requires no apparatus, can always be enjoyed in the country, and in every city where a public park exists.

It develops the lungs, and by their expansion broadens the chest, circulates the blood, consequently nourishes the body, and through the perspiration engendered is a most efficient means of relieving the system of unhealthy humors.

On these occasions flannel should always be worn next the skin, and on returning home care should be taken to change the clothing and rub the body freely with a dry towel. To be able to run without exertion or fatigue is a useful accomplishment, and may stand a man in good stead on many an occasion in life, without having to anticipate the possibility of his being forced to be an actor in any particularly heroic circumstance.

The parent who desires to teach his child to run with ease should make sure that its heart and lungs are in healthy condition, and should commence, when about ten years old, by very short stages, increasing the distance run each day by a few yards only. He will be astonished to find how systematic practice will develop the power of the lungs and legs, and what distances his children will be able to accomplish without the least fatigue.

When this power is obtained, and circumstances permit, let him encourage them to play at ' hare and hounds ' or ' paper chase,' in which pastime both boys and girls can join. The human ' hare,' who is given a start of ten minutes, is tracked by the small pieces of paper which he drops from the bag he carries. This evidence of the line of his flight he is bound in honour to leave behind him as he runs.

On these occasions both hare and hounds may be provided, though not necessarily, with long poles, enabling them to leap obstacles in their path much higher than those they naturally could surmount if not furnished with such assistance. Some of the most pleasurably exciting

days of my youth were spent during the holidays, in company with a laughing band of cousins—both boys and girls—with leaping poles in our hands, making a bee-line across the fields of Lancashire.

I have made no allusion to such games as cricket, baseball, rounders, football, lawn tennis, or to exercises like riding or boating, as most of these require on the part of the parent either some superfluous cash or extensive grounds, or both ; and my object is to show that much can be done in the family for the physical education of children by parents of limited income. Nor have I mentioned swimming, as it is not always possible to teach this useful, healthy, and agreeable accomplishment ; but where it is, I would most strongly recommend its acquisition by both boys and girls.

I believe that if parents took more care to exercise and strengthen the bodies of their children, and especially of their girls, there would be less illness in the family, the children would be happier and less troublesome, there would be less fault-finding, and fewer punishments, and in after life the men and women would be stronger and healthier and consequently more useful to their country.

It is my earnest hope that those parents of Great Britain and America who have hitherto neglected the physical education of their children may perceive how easily and with what slight cost bodily exercises can be encouraged in the family, and how important would be the benefits which would accrue to their respective nations were the practice of gymnastics to become the rule instead of the exception, in English and American families."

1893

BRITISH COLLEGE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Dr Savile, M.D. Lond., and I in 1893 endeavoured to found a British College of Physical Education, but after a short existence financial demands negatived our adventure. The following was our appeal for assistance:

"Sir,

We, the undersigned, as President and Chairman of the British College of Physical Education, desire to enlist your sympathy in its behalf. The objects of the College are:

1. To improve the standard of Physical Training in the United Kingdom.

2. To establish an Institution where School Teachers and others may be able to go through a course of instruction in the art of Physical Training, and may obtain Certificates of proficiency.

3. To raise the professional and social status of the teachers of Physical Exercises.

4. To promote an organised system of Physical Education among all classes in Great Britain.

5. To give to Physical Education a more scientific organisation and character.

The Council finds that to carry on the work effectually a building is necessary, where Lectures on the science and theory of Physical Culture, and practical instruction in gymnastics may be given, and where members may meet for social intercourse. In order to accomplish this the sum of about £10,000 is necessary. A special fund,

entitled the ' British College of Physical Education Building Fund,' has therefore been opened.

We desire to call your special attention *to the decline in the national standard of Physical Health,* consequent on the number of city dwellers as compared with the agricultural population of this country. Two-thirds of the inhabitants of Great Britain live in towns with a population of over 4000 inhabitants. It therefore seems absolutely necessary that some physical training should be given to the rising generation to counteract the evil effects of town life and sedentary occupations, and it is well that those whose duty it will be to teach others should themselves be well taught and should thoroughly understand not only gymnastics but the delicate organisation of the human body, upon which their art is to be exercised. The *scientific physical training* of the masses in other countries is effected by means of the Conscription. In Great Britain there is no State organisation for this purpose.

We earnestly request all interested in this most important question to become annual subscribers, as the present income of the College is inadequate to meet the growing demands made upon it ; and we appeal to you to fill up one of the annexed papers, and kindly to return it signed in the enclosed envelope to the President of the College, the Earl of Meath, 83 Lancaster Gate, London W.

We are,

Yours faithfully,

MEATH, President.

THOS. SAVILE, Chairman."

1894

PHYSICAL EDUCATION—BIRMINGHAM

Address by Lord Meath

At Birmingham in 1894 I drew attention to the great necessity for physical education in public schools and remarked :

" The subject of the physical training of the children in Board and national schools is one which for some years past has occupied my serious attention. In season and out of season, in the Senate, on the platform, and in the Press I have endeavoured to arouse public interest in the physical condition of the children of the great masses of our population. It appeared to me that the concentration of large numbers of men and women in crowded centres was not conducive to the preservation of a high standard of health and strength ; and that although the physique of the children of the upper and of some of the middle classes and of the rural poor might be in a satisfactory condition, this could not be with truth said of large numbers of the children of the working classes living in our great cities, and the statistics of recruiting seemed to support this opinion. I twice introduced into the House of Lords a Bill to give encouragement to the teaching of physical exercises in elementary schools belonging to Boards representing a population of over 15,000. Although this Bill did not meet with favour on either occasion, and had to be withdrawn, I am indebted to the present head of the Education Department for having embodied the words of that Bill in the code of education recently issued by him. Mr Acland has improved upon my proposals, for his code applies to all schools receiving Government grants, and after August

5th next no school, whether in town or in country, will be entitled to receive the highest Government grant unless physical exercises are taught in it to the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Inspector. This is a great step in the right direction, but much will depend on the character of the physical exercises taught in the schools, and on the standard of excellence required by the inspectors. In Germany, and, I believe, in Sweden and Norway, every school teacher is trained for this work in special colleges, where he learns not only practical gymnastics but the art of teaching them to a class, whilst he is also instructed in the elements of physiology and anatomy. Our Government provides no such training for its school instructors, but, inasmuch as it is of the first importance that the teachers of elementary schools should be properly fitted for the responsible work which after the 5th of August next they will be called upon to undertake, a voluntary association has been formed, under the chairmanship of Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson, F.R.S., called the 'British College of Physical Education,' which is prepared to assist teachers in obtaining the requisite knowledge, and after successful examination, to provide them with a school teacher's certificate of proficiency. This certificate will be a guarantee to school managers that the teacher who is provided with it is competent to undertake the difficult and responsible duty of training the delicate frames of the children committed to his or her care."

XXIII

REST AND COUNTRY AIR

LADY BRABAZON (AFTERWARDS COUNTESS OF MEATH) ON REST AND COUNTRY AIR FOR THE WEARY AND AILING IN 1880

IN June, 1880, my wife's thoughts were much occupied by a scheme for providing rest and country air for the wearied and ailing. In a circular letter on this subject she said :

" Have you, or any of those dear to you, ever been detained in the hot, crowded city, just when the country is most enjoyable, and summer skies, summer flowers and foliage all seem to vie in tempting you away to a purer atmosphere ? If so, perhaps you have often thought, with feelings of pity, of the many wearied men and women, denizens of gloomy streets, courts, and alleys, to whom the genial season comes round just as it does to us, but brings no relaxation from work, no pleasant summer holiday. It is no exaggeration to state that numbers of persons permanently lose their health, some even their lives, through the want of timely rest. There are cases where the physician's skill is quite unavailing, and where only repose, change of air, and good food can be expected to work a cure. To meet the requirements of such invalids, Convalescent Homes have been established ; and it would indeed be difficult to over-estimate the relief which has been afforded to the invalid poor by the establishment of these admirable institutions. Accommodation,

however, cannot be provided in these homes—especially during the summer months—for the thousands of ailing men, women, and children, to be found in our densely populated towns, whose health might be materially benefited by the enjoyment of a few weeks' holiday, spent in the country or by the seaside. Can nothing be done to remedy this? Surely, for where the will exists to help others, the way can be found. A lady, herself a very great invalid, but one who had not allowed her own ill-health to deprive her of the pleasure of assisting fellow-sufferers, contributed not long since a paper entitled 'Angels Unaware' to a magazine, in which she advocated that *poor* visitors should occasionally be received into gentlemen's houses. I have had some experience with regard to receiving women into my house. Two years ago, I invited a pale-faced girl, thrown out of work in consequence of having met with an accident, to my home in the country. She came from a most wretched London dwelling, and in a few weeks' time left restored in heath, to enter a situation. The experiment answered so well in every respect that last year I repeated it in three different instances, and hope to receive every summer at least one poor woman needing rest. I am sure many ladies would make a similar resolve, if they would but give the experiment a fair trial. The cost involved is very trifling, whilst the boon afforded to the overworked woman is invaluable. Some may doubtless prefer the system of boarding out convalescents in cottages under their own supervision. Both plans have been tried and both have proved successful."

XXIV

LORD BRABAZON (AFTERWARDS REGINALD 12th EARL OF MEATH) ON SOCIAL SERVICE

SOCIAL SERVICE—YOUNG MEN'S FRIENDLY SOCIETY

1881

THE first public gathering in 1881 at Lambeth Palace of the Young Men's Friendly Society which I founded and of which I was Chairman, was attended by about 500 lads and young men.

On this occasion I said the object of the Young Men's Friendly Society was, as they were aware, to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of the youth of England; to make the path of life less rugged to each young man as he sets forth on the journey of life. The promoters endeavoured to effect that object by providing every working lad with a friend to whom he might turn for assistance and advice in the hour of need or of difficulty. The Society welcomed within its ranks every honest young man, irrespective of his rank or creed or employment. A good character was the only indispensable article of admission. They aimed at being a band of brothers leagued together in a holy crusade against all that was vile and sinful and unworthy of their manhood. They wished, in the midst of a sinful world, to stand up for what was pure and good and holy, and by mutual sympathy to sustain each other in the fierce battle between evil and good. They all knew the immense power of friendly unity. The early Christians made the fullest use of the powers of organisation—they continually met

together for prayer, for discussion, and for mutual encouragement, carrying into the fullest operation the system which the Young Men's Friendly Society was endeavouring to imitate, viz., of recommending, by means of commendatory letters, members of their body to the care of others in the district to which they might be removing. I then went on to compare the persecutions to which the early Christians were victims with the manifold temptations of modern society—the fraudulent tricks of trade and business which young men were well-nigh compelled to support and maintain, the patronizing pity of the so-called philosophical sceptic, the sneer of the godless and worldly—all this made a young man feel his absolute need of sympathy, sympathy such as their Society aimed at providing. I concluded by reminding them of the Society's motto, "Quit you like men; be strong!" "The future of your country depends upon you! What you are, England in a few years will be! If you are honest, England will be honest; if you are pure, England will be pure; if you are virtuous, England will be virtuous, and consequently happy and prosperous. Learn to say, 'Yes, I will!' and 'No, I won't!' as occasion demands; be firm—be truthful—be manly—be Christian!"

ORNAMENTAL SEATS IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE, 1881

In 1881 twelve ornamental seats were placed by me, when Lord Brabazon, in Trafalgar Square.

Punch in consequence published the following:

"A London Reverie"

A seat within Trafalgar Square!
Yes, thanks to Brabazon we're able
To sit when Autumn days are fair,
Here, 'mid the City's ceaseless Babel;

To note the scenes of social strife,
The folks both East and Westward faring,
All that full tide of human life,
That circles round the Cross of Charing.

And now we'll go ; the Autumn air
Is chill, the twilight gathers o'er us.
Adieu, then, to Trafalgar Square,
And all the scenes it spreads before us !
There goes St. Stephen's measured chime,
The eventide is just beginning.
Lord Brabazon, accept the rhyme,
Your welcome gift has set us spinning !

1883

On the 25th May, 1883, at a meeting held in the Palace Library, Lambeth, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair, as Lord Brabazon I spoke in support of a resolution " that it is expedient that there be a Central Church Society with the objects of promoting Purity of Life and of preventing the degradation of Women and Children in accordance with the Resolutions of the Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury." I said :

" Deep down in the hearts of the young men of all classes in England there lies a chivalrous respect for women. Let this be properly called forth, and they will respond to the appeal. A short time ago I was addressing at Sheffield a working-class audience of young men, when I put to them the question whether they considered it manly to take advantage of the weakness of women. The ringing cheers with which my remarks were greeted, and which I am certain came from the heart, would have convinced anyone of the sincerity of these young men. To take another class at the other end of the social scale.

At Oxford I heard yesterday how at a wine party a young man, as young men sometimes will, sang a ribald song. That song was received in dead silence. A short time previously a most earnest appeal had been made in that college to the better feelings of these young men. No amount of argument could have had the same effect upon the singer of that ribald song as the way in which it was received. I need not add that the song was not repeated.

> 'O Mrs Fry! Why go to Newgate? Why
> Preach to poor rogues? And wherefore not begin
> With Carlton, or with other houses? Try
> Your hand at harden'd and imperial sin.
> To mend the people's an absurdity,
> A jargon, a mere philanthropic din,
> Unless you make your betters better. . . .'"

The resolution was carried.

1883

THE OVERWORKED SHOP ASSISTANTS

In 1883 I wrote as Lord Brabazon the following Paper in support of "The cause of the overworked Shop Assistant":

"The question of the legislative restriction of the hours of labour, irrespective of age or sex, is no new one. As long ago as 1848 the Earl of Shaftesbury, the veteran philanthropist, whose name can never be too highly honoured in an assembly of Englishmen, and who was then a comparatively young man, was in the chair when a lecture was delivered by Dr Guy, which has since been published as the first of a series of 'Contributions to Sanitary Science,' in which, speaking of the long hours of labour of journeymen bakers, Dr Guy said: 'I contend

then, that without legislative interference, your case is hopeless. The individual journeyman cannot, as is absurdly contended by your opponents in the House, make his own bargains ; the whole body of journeymen cannot bind over the whole body of masters to the side of humanity and justice, and strikes have failed and will fail again, and are at the best but temporary remedies. But the Legislature can help you if it will, and it will help you if you can succeed in enlisting public sympathy in your behalf. To that object all your efforts ought to be directed. Let the public be once fairly roused to a sense of the hardships under which you suffer, and their awakened sympathy will react upon the House of Commons, and put a little heart into their political economy. We shall then hear less about " interference " and more about humanity and justice, less about the difficulty of inspecting your places of work, and more about the insufferable hardships of you—the workmen, less about unfavourable temperature and indifferent yeast, and more about excessive night toil and foul air.'

At the time this gentleman spoke the hours of journeymen bakers were something too horrible to contemplate.

The ordinary hours were from 11 at night till 5, 6, 7, and 8 o'clock in the evening of the next day, making 18 to 21 hours of continuous occupation, with irregular intervals of such rest as could be obtained by lying down on a hard board in the bakehouse, and in one case which came under the notice of Dr Guy, and which we have no reason to suppose an isolated one, a journeyman baker began work on Thursday night at 11 o'clock, and continued without rest or sleep till 1 o'clock on Sunday, beginning again on Sunday evening at 11 o'clock. This poor fellow worked no less than 62 hours on the stretch, and after an interval of 10 hours had to begin again. The

disclosures then made led to legislative action regulating the labours of journeymen bakers under 18 years of age, and the publicity given to these terrible instances of overwork, and the inspection of bakehouses which followed in consequence of these disclosures, has led to an improvement in the hours of adult labour in the trade, but as legislation was limited to minors, it would appear that Dr Guy's prophecy has been verified in regard to the hopelessness of improving satisfactorily the condition of adult journeymen bakers without legislative action, for only a few months ago a crowded meeting of operative bakers was held at the Pimlico Rooms, at which it is reported to have been stated that the bakers of London were very much overworked, their hours of work being practically unlimited, a fact which it was said had the worst possible effect upon their health, and which lowered them morally and socially.

The employers and employed who have joined the Shop Hours Labour League, recognising that their interests in the early closing of places of business are identical, and impressed with a conviction that a general closing of shops can never take place as long as a minority of traders insist on long hours, have come to the conclusion that compulsory legislation is the only solution to this difficult question, and that in the interests of the employers as much as in that of the employed.

It has been estimated that 1000 lives are sacrificed annually in London alone to overwork, and that 3000 to 4000 more shop assistants go back home to die. This loss of life goes on unseen and unsuspected. If the loss were open and sudden, the public would be so horrified that legislation would at once be demanded. Notwithstanding the praiseworthy efforts of the Early closing Association, which for nearly 40 years has been endeavouring, by means of moral persuasion, to induce shopkeepers

to close their doors at reasonable hours, this happy result (owing to the opposition of a minority) is still far from having been obtained, and if we take into consideration the increased size of London, it may well be doubted whether there are not now a larger number of shops open at unreasonable hours than when the Association first commenced its labours. It is common to hear of assistants who are kept at work for 14, 15, 16, 17, and even 18 hours out of the 24, and it has been ascertained on undoubted testimony that female assistants at some refreshment bars are kept at work from 7 a.m. till 10 p.m. and from 7 a.m. till 1 a.m. on alternate days, thus working one day 15 hours, and next 18 hours out of the 24.

It has been said by some that instead of seeking legislative aid the shop assistants should combine and strike against these excessive hours of labour. The Shop Hours Labour League is not of this opinion. It is not a Trades Union. It has been established for the single purpose of bringing the grievances of shopkeepers and shop assistants in the matter of long hours to the notice of the public, and through publicity to obtain relief at the hands of Parliament in a legal and constitutional manner, but supposing, for the sake of argument, that the League was willing to advocate a strike with all the attendant loss of capital and of temper, and was willing to set class against class irrespective of the consequences, the question still arises, Could it be done ? All who know the circumstances of the case must answer, No. The supply of shop assistants, both male and female, far surpasses the demand ; the places of those who struck would be instantly filled, and it is dreadful to think what would be the fate of the unfortunate men and women who had been foolish enough to listen to such evil counsels.

There already exist precedents for the regulation of the hours of adult labour in the ' Act to amend the Law

for regulating the hours of receiving and delivering goods and chattels in Pawnbrokers' Shops,' which was passed in 1846, and in the Acts for closing public houses during the hours of divine service, and in the Sunday Closing Bills for Ireland and Cornwall, and although it may be argued that these are restrictions made in the interest of the public rather than of the shopkeepers, they are still restrictions on adult labour and limitations as to hours of work. I am given to understand that the Government are under a promise to Lord Stanhope to bring in some Bill next session dealing with the question of early closing, but it will probably be drawn up, unless I am greatly mistaken, on lines similar to that of Lord Stanhope, and will only refer to women, young persons, and children. Such restrictions do not commend themselves to the League. It would be foolish, however, in my opinion, for the League to oppose such a Bill. It should be accepted as an instalment of justice. The discussion which must take place in and out of Parliament before it could be passed would ventilate the subject, and within a very few years after the passing of such a Bill it would probably be found (in the interests of the women and children for whose relief the Government Bill was drafted) that it was necessary to pass a Supplementary Act including men. The effect of passing a compulsory closing Bill for women and young persons only will be to throw out of employment many young women, as those shopkeepers who may be opposed to legislation and to the Early Closing Movement, in order to avoid coming under the operation of the Bill, will dismiss their female assistants and exclusively employ young men. Before any Bill, however, can be drafted it will be necessary to take evidence from both employers and employed, and in such a work I trust that the League will take a prominent part. Composed of both employers

and employed it will be admirably fitted to collect much reliable and useful information which would be invaluable to any Government or private Member of Parliament contemplating legislative action. The great questions of national health of body and mind and of national morality are mixed up in this matter of early closing. Bodily exhaustion is unfavourable to the exercise of self-control. It engenders a feverish condition of mind and body which craves for the stimulus and excitement of drink; drink is apt to lead to debauchery; evils which entail others in their train; which ruin their victims body and soul, and are the fruitful source of crowded workhouses, lunatic asylums, penitentiaries, and gaols; and lead to increased expenditure of public money; expenditure which in its turn becomes the ruin of many an honest but struggling ratepayer. It has been well said, 'that if mankind in the present day were strictly to adhere to those practices which promote health and well-being of their minds and bodies, and as strictly to abstain from those which tend to injure them, there would be little or no cause to complain that our race is degenerating, and that the men of modern days scarcely possess the sixth part of the strength of their forefathers.'"

"THE SOCIAL WANTS OF LONDON"

By Lord Brabazon, afterwards Earl of Meath

February 8th, 1884

"Mr E. Gurney has told us that one of the social wants of East London would be supplied if a first-rate band could be permanently engaged at an annual cost of £4000 to discourse sweet music 'daily or rather nightly throughout the year in a large covered space.' Mr Gurney, however, from the tone of his article, would, I am sure, acknowledge

that there are other social wants in London, and especially in the east and south, at least as pressing as the establishment of a permanent band, which some might be tempted to look upon as a luxury. Among many other social wants the attention of your readers might profitably be drawn to the consideration of the absence of an adequate supply in London of public wash-houses, laundries, and swimming baths. I venture to think that the provision of these is of more real importance to the masses than that even of the best music. I do not wish to draw away one single penny from the fund which Mr Gurney hopes to see established for the musical instruction of the dwellers in the East End, for I am bold enough to assert that the social wants I have mentioned are of such primary necessity to the health of the people that they should be provided for out of public or municipal funds. Although the proposition that ' cleanliness is next to godliness ' is not, as many suppose, to be found in Holy Writ, I believe that it contains a considerable element of truth, and that there is a close connection between cleanliness and the cultivation of the civic and social virtues. At all events, the reverse of this proposition—namely, that dirt is closely allied to ungodliness, general disorder, and human wretchedness—must be apparent to all, and requires no demonstration. The upper and middle classes of England believe in the gospel of cleanliness and practise it both in their homes and in their persons. The rich Englishman considers it necessary to his health that he should daily cleanse his body with water, or, at all events, that he should not allow many days to elapse without doing so ; but I would ask my readers how many families of the working classes live up to a similar high standard of cleanliness. Some of us are in the habit of talking of the ' great unwashed,' but have the wealthier classes of this country ever asked themselves whether,

if they were suddenly placed in conditions similar to those in which the poorer live, they would for long be able to retain their habits of cleanliness ? Consider the conditions adverse to this virtue under which the poorer classes live, and how little has been done to encourage or make possible these desirable habits. Consider how confined are their dwellings, the number inhabiting each room, the impossibility of obtaining privacy, the limited water supply, the wear and tear upon clothing, the dirty and often filthy nature of their employments, the limited wardrobe, the smoky atmosphere in which their dwellings are often situated, and the utter neglect by the nation at large of all opportunities of assisting them in their efforts towards cleanliness. That the working classes in many cases rise superior to all these hindrances and impediments, and that many homes in districts the most unfavourable to cleanliness are models of perfection, is no argument in favour of leaving matters *in statu quo*, though it is a strong argument for modesty on the part of those who, while more happily circumstanced, find fault with the unwashed, and yet take no step to render cleanliness possible to them.

Owing to the want of proper accommodation for the washing and drying of clothes in working-class houses, these disagreeable operations have to be carried on in the dwelling and sleeping apartments of the inmates. Is it astonishing if the husband and sons take refuge from the scene of discomfort in the nearest public-house, and if the frequent cleansing of clothes be voted a nuisance in the family, and the use of soap and water when applied to garments be associated in their minds with damp linen, steaming clothes, general discomfort, and rheumatism ? What a different aspect would the washing of clothes present to the husband's mind if the operation did not necessitate the upsetting of all domestic comfort, if it

were carried on out of sight in a public laundry belonging to the parish, to which his wife would, in turn with her neighbours, have the right of access for a certain number of hours on payment of a small fee !

When we pass from the consideration of wash-houses and laundries to that of swimming baths, it may be said that while the former may be considered necessities the latter are decidedly luxuries. I decline to accede to this proposition. Healthy exercise is necessary to the proper physical development of the people, and the nation which neglects the physical development of the people is not only doomed to destruction but richly deserves the national effacement which is certain to overtake it. I do not ask that the people shall be admitted free to any of these institutions, but only that they shall be placed in their midst, and that the payment shall be made so low as to enable the population to make large use of them. The vestry of Paddington has actually built a swimming bath and gymnasium out of public funds, and as a ratepayer in the parish I heartily approve of their conduct. I believe also that other vestries have acted in a similarly enlightened manner. Whatever may be said with regard to the duty of the nation to provide means of healthy recreation for adults, I believe that most people would agree that the physical development of children should not be left to chance, and will rejoice that the School Board of London has recognised the importance of teaching its scholars the art of swimming, and that prizes are annually offered for competition among those who have obtained the greatest proficiency in this useful and healthy exercise. Unfortunately, comparatively few of the children are able to learn to swim, as in many districts it is impossible to teach this art owing to the absence of any bathing places. How eagerly the children of the Metropolis avail themselves of the scanty

opportunities for bathing which the police regulations allow them, is shown by the hundreds who may be seen of a summer evening waiting on the banks of the Serpentine expectant of the signal which will permit them to plunge into its waters. Why should not every parish follow the example of Paddington? If one parish can do it, others could. The ruins of Rome and Pompeii attest the importance which the ancients attached to the provision of public baths for the people. Why should we, with our higher civilisation, and with our enormous aggregations of population within crowded areas, from whence Nature with her streams and lakes has been driven, fail to do what the ancients in their small, village-like towns, and with their comparatively imperfect water supply, considered necessary for the health of the people? We have at our doors the most magnificent natural swimming bath running for miles through the very heart of the City, and yet how little use is made of it! I am not aware of more than one floating bath in the whole course of the Thames through London, whereas in Paris there are several on the Seine. Why should not floating public swimming baths for both sexes be established by scores from Greenwich to Putney? Why should not washing establishments such as are to be seen on the Seine be likewise erected, both paid for and managed by the municipal authorities? These floating baths and wash-houses would cost but little in their erection, and their maintenance would be a mere trifle when compared with the sums which are thrown away by corporations and vestries on much less profitable objects. I see the political economist rise in indignation at the proposal. And yet it is not supposed to be iniquitous for the nation to pay for the free opening to the people of a National Gallery, nor when the least admirable portion of the plebs has drunk itself into penury is it thought to savour of

Communism if the prudent and respectable portion of Society be compelled by the State to support the former in Workhouses. The preservation of the health of the people is, in my opinion, the first duty of the State; and by the erection in towns of public wash-houses, laundries, and swimming baths, an important step would without doubt be taken towards improving the health and increasing the happiness of our city populations."

NOTES BY LORD MEATH ON SOCIAL SERVICE

1888

In the month of October, 1888, the Duke of Westminster, Sir R. N. Fowler, I and others addressed and published the following letter to candidates for election at the approaching municipal elections all over the country:

"The period of the year at which most of the elections to municipal offices take place appears to be a fitting one for asking your attention to the open provocation to immorality with which so many of our cities abound. It is to the electors we must look for the use they make of the franchise in selecting those who will manfully strive for the protection of their property and the security of their own families and the public morals. In the Metropolis, and in many other centres of population, certain streets swarm at night with those whose mode of life is one of shame, and the boldness with which they ply their trade is greatly on the increase. The places in which they reside, or to which they resort, are rapidly multiplying. The knowledge of evil is thus spread out before the young of both sexes, and the downward path rendered both easy and attractive. Public decency is outraged, and proceedings tolerated which are a disgrace to our moral character and our Christian profession. Much, if not all, of this display of profligacy it is in the

power of civic, municipal, and parochial bodies to prevent. The law may, and does require strengthening, but it is useless to cry out for more power whilst that which we have is not used, and it is in vain to expect that it will be used unless those having authority or influence are alive to the necessity. Our purpose is not to usurp the functions of those in whom the power resides, but so to raise the tone of public opinion as to encourage and enforce its exercise. We are ready, however, to aid in preventing and repressing vice and in rescuing its victims through the instrumentality of local associations and, if necessary, by direct appeals to the law, as circumstances may dictate. We would also point out that any two ratepayers may insist upon proceedings being taken, and under provisions of the law expressly devised for that purpose, may prosecute to conviction at the expense of the locality in which the mischief exists. The suppressions of houses of ill-fame, and the restraint of street solicitation properly fall within the province of Town Councillors, Overseers of the Poor, etc. Proceedings, in the first instance, ought to be taken by those who suffer inconvenience from the presence of persons and places devoted to immorality; and the Overseers, municipal authorities, and police should be ready to respond most vigorously to the calls of the public, and ought themselves to search out and proceed against vice. Prostitutes, brothel keepers, and owners of premises rented for their purposes, are alike subject to prosecution. Hitherto there has not been any general effort for repression and prevention, and interference has been too often limited to the abatement of the nuisance, where it had become too open, by simply driving the perpetrators out of the district, rather than extended to such a punishment as may deter them from a repetition of the offence elsewhere. Thus, by leaving them to renew their misconduct

in other localities, the authorities have incurred a tedious repetition of the process, oftentimes ending in the return of the offenders to their original haunts. Our desire on the present occasion is to gain your attention to the serious nature of the evil which prevails in our midst, and to express our hope that, in seeking election to positions of local power, you will bring this matter prominently to the notice of those whom you are preparing to represent, and in so doing receive their mandate that it shall not continue."

It is difficult to calculate the effect of this circular, but the change for the better which has occurred in this particular matter, since the days when it was written leads one to hope that it exercised some influence upon public opinion.

NOTES BY LORD MEATH ON THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SERVICE

1904

As President of the "British Institute of Social Service" I held a reception in 1904, on the occasion of the opening of the library and offices of the Institute. The objects of the Institute were to collect, register, and disseminate information relating to all forms of social service and industrial betterment, adaptable to the needs of the United Kingdom, in order to make such information available to all concerned in the improvement and elevation of our national life; to promote the initiation and development in this country of the most beneficial and successful forms of social service; and to give assistance to all organisations that have social aims; to facilitate co-operation between them and as far as possible to prevent overlapping. Mrs Humphry Ward

on this occasion, " congratulated the Institute that it had overcome the early difficulties of organisation, and that it had landed in such interesting and promising offices, where all the facilities for work were present. As to the use of such an Institute, she did not think that those of them who were engaged in any form of social work could be blind to the advantage which it must be. Many of them had to go groping in the dark. At the time they wanted to establish vacation schools, it was very difficult to get information concerning them, but if such an institution as the British Institute of Social Service had existed, there would have been plenty of information forthcoming. In every department one worker was helped by another, and the work of the Institute would be, in the words of George Eliot, 'incalculably diffusive.' "

The formation of this organisation was principally due to the inspiration and exertion of the well-known Nonconformist divine, and leader, the Rev Dr Paton. The need for such a centre of information in regard to social matters was illustrated at this time by another great religious Nonconformist leader, who wrote a book recommending the establishment of Labour Colonies in England as a cure for unemployment. At that time 22 such flourishing institutions had already been established, and were in full operation, in Germany. I called on this gentleman to find out whether his failure to mention these German institutions was due to ignorance of their existence, or to a desire to claim credit for an idea which was not novel.

I came away from the interview persuaded that the error was due to ignorance rather than to malice.

There is a famous case of an even worse waste of energy due to ignorance, when a workman conceived the idea of a Biblical Concordance, having never heard of the

labours of Cruden. He shut himself up nearly all his life to work in secret, so that no one should rob him of this precious idea, only to find when he produced his gigantic work, that he had been anticipated by Cruden by almost 100 years.

XXV

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR PROMOTING STATE-DIRECTED COLONISATION

Founded by Lord Brabazon, afterwards Earl of Meath, in 1884

Article written by him to the *Nineteenth Century* Magazine

"IT would be well to make it clearly understood that the National Association does not propose that H.M.'s Government should transfer the idle, the vicious, the ne'er-do-well, or the pauper from the slums of London to those of Melbourne or Toronto (as seems to be the idea of some of the opponents of State emigration), nor has it ever been proposed that any individual should be sent to the Colonies, nor is there any intention of making a money present to any emigrant to enable him to proceed to the Colonies. All that the Association desires is, that the British Government shall, in conjunction with the Colonial authorities, draw up a well-considered scheme of emigration and colonisation by means of which able-bodied and industrious men, who may not be possessed of the means necessary to enable them to emigrate, shall be provided with the means of emigrating with their families, or of colonising, under the strictest possible guarantee that the money shall be repaid with easy interest within a certain number of years." This scheme met with the most virulent opposition of the "Social Democratic Federation," which endeavoured to break up our public meetings whether

held in London, or in the provinces, by organised bodies of their adherents. The Federation was not slow to perceive the hindrances which a well-considered scheme of State-directed colonisation would offer to the acceptance by the people at home of its peculiar views. A contented population is not good material with which to revolutionise a country. "Let the poor man," I said, "transfer his labour from Great Britain, where it is not wanted, to the Greater Britain where it is imperatively demanded, and the opportunity for revolution might arrive and find the former battalion of misery and despair so weakened by desertion, and so enervated by the Capua of prosperity, as to be unwilling to risk their lives in a hopeless struggle with the irresistible forces of social order." It is a pity that when ultimately the Government of the day adopted the idea, they did not carry out the suggestions of the National Association, which had been most carefully thought out. Had they done so, I feel confident that the errors into which they fell, and which led to the abandonment of the two Colonies in Canada, would not have taken place, and the scheme would have proved a great success.

STATE-DIRECTED COLONISATION: BIRMINGHAM

1887

Speaking at Birmingham in 1887 in support of the agitation for State-directed Colonisation, in the year my father died, I said the population of the few small islands inhabited by the British, Scotch, and Irish races had attained to the large figure of some 36 millions, and was increasing at the rate of 340,000 annually. The question which demanded a rational answer from the leaders of public opinion in this country, and indeed from all thoughtful men, was: Can British

KILLRUDDERY, BEECH HEDGE, POND AND SWANS

agriculture, manufactures, and trade in their present depressed condition support these 36 millions in decency and comfort ? If the answer were in the negative, then I asserted that their meeting that evening was unnecessary, unless it were for the purposes of immediate organisation, inasmuch as the necessity for the instant adoption of some system of State colonisation or emigration became self-evident, it being impossible to expect private enterprise or philanthropy to grapple with the question of colonisation. If, however, the answer were in the affirmative, then I would ask a further question, namely, taking the annual increase of the population into consideraion, for how many years could we hope to be able to maintain our population in comfort and decency ? If the answer were for any number of years under twenty, that was to say before another seven millions had been added to our population, I should reply that it would be only common sense and ordinary precaution to be prepared for a danger which was likely to overtake this country within so short a period as twenty years. Proceeding next to show the comparative proportions of the United Kingdom and the seven largest colonies, I said the United Kingdom contained 121,500 square miles, or 77,760,000 acres which, with a population of 36 millions, gave $2\frac{1}{6}$ acres per person, whereas the colonies of New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Victoria, Western Australia, Canada, and New Zealand in the aggregate gave, as at present populated, an average of 549 acres per person. The comparative density of population was thus shown in round numbers to be 300 to each square mile in the United Kingdom, and less than one person per square mile in the seven principal Colonies mentioned. It was unquestionable that large numbers of the population of the United Kingdom were not living at present in anything like decency

or comfort. We were teaching the people to read and think, and we might rest assured that if these evils were the results of bad laws or wrong social arrangements the sooner they were mended the better for society in general, and for the rich in particular. If, on the other hand, it could be shown that the State was alive to the miseries under which large masses of the population were suffering, and was doing all that in reason it could be expected to do to enable them to assist themselves, we might console ourselves with the reflection that education would enable the people to use their reason with advantage, and to recognise how small a part of human ills laws or Parliaments could cure or mend. If there were present that evening any who thought that in a subdivision of the land of the United Kingdom could be found a permanent remedy for the evils of over-population, I would point to the simple geographical truism that if all the land of Great Britain and Ireland, good, bad, or indifferent, were equally divided it would only be possible to give about $2\frac{1}{6}$ acres to each individual, and agriculturists told us that 40 acres of good land was the least which could support a man in comfort who had no other source of income. When we considered that this small amount would annually have to be diminished, in order, at the present rate of increase of our population, to accommodate 340,000 more claimants to a portion of the soil, the absurdity of the idea became apparent. By all means reform the Land Laws or any other laws which might need reform, but do not imagine that therein would be found a solution of the difficult problem of "over-population"; whatever else might be a matter of doubt, one thing was certain that the present condition of the poor could not be allowed to continue. Something must be done, or this country would find itself one morning landed in a social revolution. Let us examine whilst

we might the nature and amount of the distress at present existing amongst certain portions of the working classes, and lest it should be said that distress was only to be met with amongst working men who, by striking, had placed themselves in the position of the unemployed, let us consider the present condition of unorganised male and female labour. I would only speak of that with which I was in some degree acquainted, namely, London labour. The largest mass of unorganised labour and that in regard to which it was easiest to obtain reliable statistics, was to be met with in the neighbourhood of the London docks. Two members of the National Association for Promoting State Colonisation visited three of the London docks on a given morning, and with their own eyes saw the fierce conflict for employment which might daily be witnessed when the dock gates were opened, when thousands of half-starved men struggled and fought, aye, literally fought like wild animals, scrambling over the heads of one another and trampling each other down in their efforts to attract the attention of the foreman whose business it was to engage the hands for the day. By a show of physical strength these men hoped to obtain the much-coveted privilege of 5d. per hour. The struggle ended, and the fortunate ones admitted within the docks, the gates were closed, and from these three docks 700 hungry, disappointed men were turned away to spend a day of enforced idleness and misery. The day chosen by these gentlemen for their visit to the docks was no exceptional one, as was proved by the report of the Mansion House Committee on Metropolitan Distress, in which it was stated that 8000 men on an average were daily turned away without employment from the dock gates of London. This was an army, and when they considered that many of these men were married, it was no exaggeration to say that 30,000 human

souls depended for their daily needs upon the caprice or favour of the foreman who stood behind the chains at the London dock gates.

Turning to the unorganised female labour market of London, I said a devoted lady, the wife of an East End clergyman, being desirous of ascertaining the true condition under which her working-class sisters laboured, disguised herself and obtained employment in a match factory at the comparatively easy task of filling match-boxes. At the end of the week she was informed that she had worked fairly well as a beginner, and was handed the magnificent sum of 2s. 3d. To appreciate the impossibility of a girl living honestly upon these wages, it was only necessary to tell my audience that the following rents were charged for lodgings in which this lady was working: 5s. to 6s. for two rooms, 2s. to 3s. for one room, and 1s. 2d. to 2s. for half a bed. If this lady had been entirely dependent upon her earnings, as many girls were, she could only have afforded half a bed and she would have had exactly thirteen pence left on which to feed and clothe herself for a week, or less than 2d. a day—a physical impossibility. She must have either starved or solved the problem of existence in ways destructive of soul and body, but, alas, not unknown to some considerable portion of her fellow-workers.

I next gave statistics of the earnings of women in the East End of London for work carried on for 14 to 18 hours a day. For brush work drawing ¾d. an hour, or 7d. a day sitting close; for match-box making an expert could make from 4s. to 5s. a week of six days, working 12 hours a day, and the women who made them had to find paste, hemp, and firing for drying purposes; jam and jute factories, 5s. to 8s. per week, paper bags from 4½d. to 5½d. a thousand; umbrella covering 10d. a dozen ordinary and 1s. a dozen

extra large; sack making 3d. a dozen; shirts 2d. each, the worker finding her own cotton, and a woman might get six done working from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m.; shirt finishing 4d. a dozen; better class shirts 5d. a shirt, it being possible to make one a day; button holing 4s. a week; ladies' fur tippets sold for £20, 3s. a week; imitation fur trimming 1s. 4d. a yard, and trouser finishing 9d. a day. I said my desire was to show how keen was the competition in the labour market of Great Britain, and that it was possible in these islands, in the midst of plenty, for an honest, healthy, sober, industrious man or woman to have to choose between starvation, the Workhouse, or crime, in order to secure food to maintain life. One remedy, and I ventured to think a very effective one, was State colonisation. The work to be undertaken was too vast and of too great importance to the nation to be left in the hands of either speculators or philanthropists. Voluntary colonisation required that the colonist should possess a capital of at least £100, and how few working men could produce that sum? Commercial companies, again, were of necessity bound to consider first the interests of their shareholders, or of some large speculator, which would undoubtedly in a commercial scheme be taken into consideration before that of the emigrant or the Empire to which he belonged. The philanthropist would not be guilty of this error, but he would probably demoralise the colonist by unwise kindness and would be utterly unable to raise sufficient money to grapple with the work he had undertaken. A scheme of State colonisation had been drawn up in outline by a joint committee of both Houses of Parliament, consisting of 25 peers and 125 members of the House of Commons. The scheme was as follows: 1. A controlling authority. Colonisation Board, with imperial and colonial representation. 2. Capital

to be raised by public subscription to a Colonisation Land Rent Charge Stock, with interest at 3 per cent per annum to be guaranteed by the Imperial Government for a term of thirty years. 3. Preference to be given to colonists who contributed towards outlay. 4. The colonist after second year to pay 4 per cent on amount advanced, secured by a rent charge with or without an extra 1 per cent for contingencies. 5. " Rent charge " to be redeemed by colonists within thirty years; and 6. Colonial Government to give land free, or on the most favourable terms for settlement with power to create a rent-charge where necessary. This scheme was one of colonisation and not of simple emigration, and there was a great difference between the two—simple emigration did not commend itself to the working classes in the Colonies, it meant the sending out from this country of our surplus population to compete in the labour markets of the Colonies with Colonial working men; State colonisation on the other hand meant the placing of suitable persons with some capital in their pockets on the free grant lands of the Colonies. These colonists, far from competing with Colonial working men, would in a short time become their employers and customers. Employers would welcome them when they learnt that ne'er-do-wells were not to be drafted to the Colonies to be maintained by them in workhouses or gaols. Working men in this country would support State colonisation when they understood the funds were not to be provided out of the taxation of the country, that no one was to be sent away contrary to his own will, and that the wages of working men at home must inevitably rise as soon as the pressure of over-population which kept wages down was relieved. The capitalists would welcome it when they remembered that " trade followed the flag " and that therefore it was their interest

to increase the population of English-speaking Colonies, the principal purchasers of British goods. Let them bear in mind that while the German purchases but 8s. worth of British manufactures per head, the Frenchman but 9s. 3d. and the American but 10s., the Canadian bought £2 worth, the South African £3 worth, and the Australian £8 worth. It was absolutely necessary for Great Britain to increase the number of her Colonial customers, as she was entirely dependent upon her manufactures and trade, and would perish if these were permanently to fail. The population which, living in penury at home, was unable to purchase the articles it manufactured, located in Canada, or Australia, or New Zealand as owners of farms of the finest lands in the world, would become the best customers of the relatives they had left behind them in the old country. A remarkable instance of this was given by Mr Arnold White in his *Problems of a Great City*, in which he said that a family which emigrated to the Cape in 1820 now numbered over 500 persons, and purchased annually from £1500 to £1600 worth of British goods. The State had on two occasions sent out at its own expense colonists from this country to the Cape, and both these experiments had been successful. Deputations from the National Association had thrice waited on members of the Government of the day. The purport of the answers received on every occasion was that as soon as public opinion definitely demanded the adoption by the Government of some system of State colonisation no opposition would be offered. It was imperative, therefore, that those who were in favour of this proposal should lose no time in organising themselves, in instructing the public in regard to the necessity of the adoption of some such measure, and in bringing pressure to bear on their representatives and on the Government of the day, whichever party might be in power, so that the great

boon might be given to the people with the least possible delay. Four colonising experiments were at this moment being carried on by private individuals and societies, three of which had been long enough in operation to show that when suitable persons were sent out as colonists it was possible to obtain a fair return for money advanced. If it be said that as colonisation was being undertaken by private individuals or societies there was no necessity for the intervention of Government, I replied that these efforts prove the exact reverse, inasmuch as four colonising experiments admirably managed had not succeeded between them in placing 100 families on the land, and inasmuch as in 1885 it was calculated that 25 emigration associations had only succeeded in sending out as ordinary emigrants, not as colonists, some 3000 persons, and they must remember that the increase of population in England was at the rate of 340,000 per annum. I went on to speak of the great advance which was being made in the work of colonisation by the French. The idea started in this country was apparently to be put in practice by the Government of France for the benefit of Frenchmen. It was to be hoped the example of the French Government would be followed by our own. Recognising the marked influence working men possessed in the political world, it was satisfactory to be able to record the adhesion to the principles of the National Association of some 200,000 of their number. All that was now wanted was a more active public opinion, which would assuredly be obtained at no very distant date, if only those who had put their hands to the plough continued steadfast to their work, looking neither to the right nor to the left.

XXVI

THE UNION JACK

1893

IN 1893 Mr Arnold Foster, M.P., and I endeavoured to persuade Mr Gladstone's Government to fly the national flag, the Union Jack, over the Houses of Parliament.

Queen Victoria gave her consent on August 17th, 1893, but it was some considerable time after that before the Government yielded to our request.

For details in regard to this agitation see pages 328 to 331 *Memories of the Nineteenth Century*.

1896

NATIONAL FLAG

On October 12th, 1896, the School Board of London in reply to a letter I wrote asking them to encourage the exhibition of the national flag over the entrances to schools, instructed their Clerk to say that the School Management Committee "agreed to my proposal and were prepared to give reasonable facilities in regard thereto."

Their successors in office, the Education Committee of the London County Council, have, ever since their accession to power, honourably and patriotically supported the promise given me by the old School Board of London.

MEATH.

ADIEU!

THE old Ming Dynasty Jar in which I have mixed my Brabazon Potpourri is now filled to overflowing. I trust that rose leaves predominate and will refresh, by their fragrance, the senses of my reader, as he drops the ancient vase containing, I hope, sweet smelling reminiscences of ancient as well as of comparatively modern days. If my reader thinks my Potpourri contains too mixed a mêlée of leaves, let him please remember that after all I warned him of its contents when he first placed his nostrils to the vase.

A Potpourri is a Potpourri and cannot change its character. If you are not quite satisfied with the wares offered you in my Potpourri, stir it well, reader, and you will, believe me, find many a sweet odour which you missed in your first search for the delights of rosy fragrances.

MEATH.

October 16, 1928.

115031

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT TYLER
0 00 00 0039957

HN 39 .G7 M4 1928
Meath, Reginald Brabazon,
1841-1929.
Brabazon potpourri

0000000399576